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OF

A CAPTIVITY

IN

JAPAN,

DURING THE YEARS 1811, 1812, and 1813;

WITH

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE.

BY

CAPTAIN GOLOWNIN,

OF THE RUSSIAN NAVY,

SECOND EDITION.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

THAT the nations of Europe are little acquainted with Japan, is a fact generally known. There was indeed a time, when, ignorant of European cupidity, the Japanese opened their harbours to navigators from this quarter of the world, and every kind of information was permitted to be collected; but the accounts of the country which were then written are so marked by contradictions, that complete credibility can, in no respect, be attributed to them. Besides, so long a period has elapsed since the Japanese shut their ports against Europeans, that, according to the natural course of things, many important changes must have taken place, and consequently Japan cannot now be what it then was. The merchants of Holland, who trade to Nangasaky, though their communications with the inhabitants are very circumscribed, have doubtless, from their knowledge of the Japanese language, had the opportunity of collecting much interesting information; but it is well known, that the Dutch think it necessary to keep secret descriptions and charts, even of countries with which other and

better informed European nations have intercourse, and respecting which those nations freely make known their most circumstantial observations. Hence no account of Japan, to which they are the only European people who have for a long period had admission, is to be expected from them. Information, therefore, on the subject of that country cannot but be interesting to every enlightened mind.

These considerations have induced me to communicate to the world the occurrences which took place during my imprisonment among the Japanese, which perhaps would not otherwise have merited the attention of the public. Whoever reads my Narrative, will perceive how very limited were my means of observing all that is requisite for the description of an extensive, and almost unknown country, and consequently will excuse the brevity of my remarks on a subject, which, treated in detail, might have afforded materials for many volumes.

Had I wished to augment the size of this work, I might easily have made large additions from other books; but I describe only what came within my own observation and experience, and report only what I saw with my own eyes.

W. G.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

The circumstances detailed, and so modestly put forth in the Author's Preface, first suggested the idea of comparing Captain Golownin's RECOLLECTIONS with the various extensive details handed down to us, from the first period of European intercourse with Japan, to the present day. The result of this examination exhibits Japan as presenting the spectacle of a nation advancing to a certain point in civilization, and there becoming stationary, at least in science and domestic arts; though perhaps retrograding in morals and even in civil liberty—a fact highly deserving the attention of the politician and the statistical economist, and pointedly demanding every illustration that former writers can supply.

There can be no doubt that the extraordinary fact, here adverted to, may be partly accounted for, in consequence of the suppression of christianity in that country, and the jealous prohibition,

amounting almost to a total interdict, of all intercourse with foreign nations, from whence, had they been permitted, might have flowed an amelioration of the moral relations and a greater portion of political freedom, that would have produced more social happiness than can possibly exist in a country where, though few are actually in absolute distress and pauperism, yet there are but two classes, the noble and ignoble, without the gradations of rank and wealth which so happily, yet almost imperceptibly, link together the extremes of society in the British Empire. But, other causes may also have operated; many of which will be found in the multifarious notes drawn from sources whose accuracy cannot be doubted, but which to general readers are little known. In the selection of these, the strictest impartiality has been observed. In general, facts alone have been attended to. These are set both in apposition and opposition to Captain Golownin's details, and tend much to corroborate the accuracy of his Recollections; whilst, in regard to points interesting in themselves, but respecting which, circumstances precluded him from being sufficiently diffuse, they

have been made available for general illustration and the gratification of public curiosity.

Thunberg, the latest writer, with the exception of our present author, observes that the Empire of Japan is in many respects a singular country, and with regard to customs and institutions, totally different from Europe: but, notwithstanding this is generally true, it is not the less remarkable, that many of their institutions, and much of their manners, as will be seen more at large in the accompanying notes, are absolutely fac-similes of our own feudal times, and demonstrate the existence of that system to a much greater extent than our ablest writers have hitherto imagined; at the same time, corroborating the similarity frequently noticed between Japan and Great Britain, and opening a wide field of speculation for the spirit of political prophecy, whenever an unrestricted intercourse shall exist between that country and the world at large. But, it may be asked, of what importance is Japan to us?—a country with which we have no political or commercial intercourse—Let it be remembered, however, that we once held an intimate correspondence with that country; a

correspondence broken up for reasons that no longer exist, and checked, in the attempt to renew it, by circumstances which have long ceased to operate.

It becomes, therefore, a point more than probable, that an intercourse with that very extensive Empire may again exist; an intercourse valuable to both nations, and much to be hoped for at the present crisis. A direct commerce of this country with Japan, if established under honorable circumstances, could not fail to be highly advantageous in general, but especially with respect to the fur-trade on the American coast. Forty years ago, the Russian merchants at Kamtschatka could afford thirty roubles for a sea-otter's skin, which eventually was to find its way to the Japan market, by a most expensive and circuitous route; as they must first be carried to Kiatcha, on the Chinese frontier, where the native merchant purchases them at cent per cent; a profit little enough to reimburse a land-carriage of 1364 miles through a desert country. From Kiatcha the skins are carried 760 miles further to Pekin, and thence to Japan! what profits might not then be expected by an English trader going at once with her cargo of

furs from Nootka Sound and its vicinity, to the Japanese out-ports, where a vessel of 20 guns, well manned, and judiciously and cautiously directed, might bid defiance to their whole naval force. From the jealousy and timidity of the Japanese a first visit might not be very successful; but in a short time there might be established an intercourse much more profitable than our former force-trade on the Spanish main. These considerations are a sufficient inducement to offer, particularly to the commercial world, a brief sketch of the first opening of the Japan trade in the 17th century, of its decline and stoppage, of a subsequent unsuccessful attempt of renewal, of the mode and means of future intercourse, and of the probable advantages that may result from it. It may therefore be observed, that English nautical enterprize had already begun to manifest itself in voyages of discovery and warfare, and in mercantile speculation to India and the oriental islands; and intelligence of the very lucrative trade carried on by Spain, Portugal, and Holland, with Japan, had induced the India merchants, early in the reign of James the first, to prepare an expedition to that

country; when circumstances of a most favorable nature took place by the arrival of an Englishman at the Japanese court, who acted as an ambassador, though unaccredited, and proved to be of essential service in the establishment of the first attempts at trade.

This person, William Adams, had been a master in the navy in the reign of Elizabeth, and afterwards was in the employ of the Barbary company; but, being actuated by a desire to acquire a knowledge of the Indian navigation, he engaged as pilot on board the Admiral's ship of a fleet of five sail, fitted out by the Dutch India Company. They sailed from the Texel in 1598, passed through the straits of Magellan towards the South-Sea in 1599, cruized for some time on the coasts of Peru and Chili, half mercantile, half piratical, but being at length obliged to leave the coast, they resolved, having a large part of their cargo in woollen cloth, to proceed to Japan, to which they were advised by a man who had been there with the Portuguese, their cargo being more likely to find a sale there, than at the Moluccas, or in the

other parts of India with which they were acquainted.

From the unfortunate events of their voyage they were reduced to one ship, and at their arrival on the coast of Japan on the 19th of April 1600, there were only seven persons, including Adams, who were capable of duty. On approaching the shore of Bongo, they had only strength to let go an anchor, when a number of Japanese boats went on board of them, the crews of which, though they offered no personal violence, stole every thing they could lay their hands on. This was, however, soon put a stop to; for the king, or chief, sent soldiers on board the next day to protect the property, and shortly afterwards assisted the crew to to carry the vessel into a safe harbour, there to remain, until orders should be received from the Emperor respecting her disposal. At the same time, the greatest kindness was shewn to them; the people were allowed to land, and an hospital was provided for the sick, with every kind of refreshment for those who were still well. It is a curious fact, that a jealousy of English interference in the Japan trade even now began to manifest itself,

though there were but two Englishmen on board the ship—William Adams, and Timothy Shotten also engaged as pilot, and who had been round the world with Candish—for a jesuit and some other Portuguese from Nangasaki having paid them a visit, these very conscientious gentlemen assured the Japanese, that the English were not merchants but pirates, which gave both the chief and the common people such a very bad impression of these two helpless individuals, that they expected every hour to be crucified, as a punishment for their alledged crimes. Nor were the Dutchmen backward in aiding the Portuguese in their nefarious designs, two of these entering into the Japanese service, claiming all the property on board the ship, disclosing every secret to the Portuguese, and doing all in their power to injure the English cause.

A short time after their arrival, an order came for Adams to go to the court, where by means of a Japanese that could speak Portuguese, the Emperor asked him numberless questions respecting England, his religion, the political state of Europe, the route by which he had arrived, &c. This in-

terview lasted several hours, during which Adams informed the Emperor, that England was at war with Spain and Portugal; and, when his Majesty was about to retire, he had the good sense and patriotism to entreat, that the English might be granted the same commercial privileges as the Portuguese and Spaniards. To this the Emperor answered; but Adams understood it not; another examination of him took place, two days afterwards, in which he gave the most rational answers to all the Imperial queries, assuring his majesty that he came not so great a distance, from any treacherous design, but from the general disposition of his nation, "which was to cultivate friendship and commerce with all other countries by exchanging their own commodities for theirs, whereby, mutual riches and advantages were obtained." After this, Adams received better treatment; but was detained six weeks in confinement, during which time, the jesuits and other Portuguese, used all means of vilifying the English, saying, that they were a company of thieves and robbers gathered out of all nations, and that if these men were suffered to live, it would turn out greatly

to the disadvantage of Japan, since every other nation would come on purpose to rob the country; but, if justice were to be administered, it would deter the English from coming there any more. The Emperor answered very coolly to these representations, that as yet these strangers had done no damage to him or his subjects, and therefore, it was against reason and justice to put them to death —a reply which, in some measure, silenced their enemies; and which was followed by a most friendly patronage of Adams on the part of the Emperor, whom he gratified most highly by building for him, a vessel of eighty tons, on the English model, and even by teaching such parts of geometry and mathematics, as he himself was acquainted with.

In 1605, Adams, anxious to return to his country again, requested the Emperor to permit his return, promising that he would engage both the English and Dutch to open a commerce with Japan; the Emperor however refused to part with him, but answered that he was desirous that both nations should come and trade there, directing him at the same time, to write home for that purpose,

and also to address such of his countrymen as might be in any part of India. In consequence of this, Adams wrote several letters and gave them in charge to the Dutch captain who was permitted to leave Japan; but he, after arriving at Malacca, was killed in an action with the Portuguese, and Adams remained without any communication with his countrymen until 1611, when hearing that some English merchants were at the island of Java, he wrote to them a letter, "To my unknown friends and countrymen."

This letter, when brought to Bantam, on the 28th of October 1612, was delivered to captain John Saris and his companions, and, "was read to all the merchants, that they might take notice of the hopes there were of trade in that country" (Japan).

Captain Saris, with three ships, had sailed from the Downs in April 1611, and proceeded to visit all the European parts on the eastern coast of Africa, thence to Mocha in Arabia, and his arrival at Bantam took place in October 1612. In January 1612--13, he sailed from Bantam, bound for Japan, with one ship only, manned with only

twenty-four Englishmen, one Spaniard, one Japanese, and five Indians: and it appears that the principal part of his cargo consisted of seven hundred sacks of pepper, by way of trial. It is needless to follow him in his route through the islands until he arrived off Japan, the coast of which was seen, for the first time by an English ship, on the 9th of June 1613: and on the 11th he anchored at Firando, a small island lying off the west coast of Bongo, or Xicoco, where he was received in the most friendly manner by the King, as he calls him, *Foyne Sama*, and by all the nobility and people.

On a visit of ceremony which the king paid to him on board his ship, Captain Saris delivered a letter from King James, which was received with great satisfaction; but the king declined opening it until Adams, who was sent for, should be present as interpreter.

The Dutch at this period, (first in 1609) had a factory at Firando, and the chief Kenrick Brower "came aboard, to visit the General (Saris), or rather to see what passed between the king and them." Saris afterwards wrote to Adams; and, by the same opportunity, acquainted the Emperor

with his being arrived, and upon what business he came. On the 13th Saris delivered his presents to the king, amounting in value to about 140*l.*, amongst which was a large cup: this the king ordered to be filled with sakki, and drank it off to the health of the King of England. Several days now passed in mutual friendship and good offices, notwithstanding the measures which had already been taken by some of our good friends to prejudice the Japanese against us. Purchas relates, that on the 29th, "a soma, or junke of the Flemings arrived at Nangasaki from Siam, laden with Brazil-wood and skins of all sorts, wherein it was said that there were Englishmen, but proved to be Flemings. For that before our coming, they passed generally by the name of Englishmen; for our English nation had been long known by report among them, but much scandalized by the Portuguese jesuits, as pirates, and rovers upon the seas; so that the naturals have a song which they call the English crofonia, shewing how the English do take the Spanish ships, which they (singing) do act likewise in gesture with their cattans by their sides, with which song and acting, they terrify

their children, as the French sometimes did theirs with the name of the Lord Talbot."

Another circumstance also happened, which deserves the attention of those who shall first endeavour to renew the commerce with Japan, in English ships—" The first of July, two of our company happened to quarrel, the one with the other, and were very likely to have gone into the field, to the endangering of us all. For it is a custom here, that whosoever draws a weapon in anger although he do no harm therewith, he is presently cut in pieces; and, doing but small hurt, not only themselves are so executed, but their whole generation."

Pending the return of an answer from the Emperor, Captain Saris was preparing to open his commercial transactions, and in the course of his enquiries, he ascertained that part of his cargo, consisting of broad cloths, was likely to fetch a good price, the Duth then selling cloths, which had only cost fifteen, or sixteen pounds per piece, at the enormous profit of eight pounds for two and a half yards, there called a *mat*. He was aware that the Dutch had a considerable quantity in their

warehouses; and, though he could well have afforded to undersell them in the market, yet he chose to act a more liberal part towards them, by proposing to the chief of their factory, that a price should be mutually fixed on, below which, neither party was to fall. "In the morning he seemed to approve thereof, but ere night, sent word that he disliked it, excusing himself that he had no warrant from his masters to make any such agreement. The next morning, he shipped away great store of cloth to divers islands, rating them at these prices, viz, at twenty, eighteen, and sixteen rials the mat," (instead of *forty* the former price,) "that he might procure the more speedy dispatch of his own, and glut the place before the coming of ours."

It may be useful to future speculators, to present a slight view of the value of leading articles of commerce at that period—Bantam pepper, ungarbled, which cost at Bantam about one and three-fourth rials, or five shillings and two pence per sack, was worth, at Japan, two pounds ten shillings; tin, per pecul of 130 pounds, was worth two pounds ten shillings; elephants' teeth, per pecul,

twenty pounds; iron, cast in pigs, one pound ten shillings; gun-powder, five pounds fifteen shillings; Socotrine aloes, one pound ten shillings per cattee, of about twelve ounces; a fowling piece five pounds; and Indian calicoes, at proportionate prices according to their quality.

The arrival of an English ship soon spread far and wide; and several of the neighbouring princes, particularly the *King* of Goto, came to Firando to gratify their curiosity, and to request the Englishmen might proceed to their several islands where they should receive the heartiest welcome: and, at the close of the month of July, William Adams made his appearance, and informed captain Saris "who conferred with him in the presence of the merchants, touching the encouragement he could give of trade in those parts, that it was not always alike, but sometimes better, sometimes worse, yet doubted not, but we should do as well as others; giving admirable commendations of the country, as much affected thereto."

A circumstance now took place, connected with the progress of Northern discovery, which has not generally been noticed by writers on that subject.

Captain Saris says—"this day there came to Firando, certain Spaniards of Mr. Adams's acquaintance, to desire passage in our ship for Bantam. These Spaniards had been belonging to a Spanish gentleman their General, who, about a year past, were come (upon the King of Spain's charge), from Nova Hispania, to discover to the northward of Japan, and arriving at Edoo, attending the monsoon to go to the northward, which beginneth in the end of May, his company, (whereof these were two) mutinied against him, every one taking his own way, leaving the ship utterly unmanned, wherefore I thought it best to keep them out of my ship."

Preparations were now made for a journey to court, which the king of Firando was so certain would be permitted, nay desired, that he offered to supply all the boats, horses, and provisions necessary, and requested a list of those who were to go, in order that he might do it in the handsomest manner possible. If we compare these presents with the modern ones to the Chinese Emperors, the contrast is very striking. Those for the Emperor amounted only to eighty-seven

pounds seven shillings and si-xpence; for his son to forty-three pounds fifteen shillings; and the remainder, for different officers of state, merely raised the sum total to one hundred and eighty pounds three shillings and ten-pence!

On the 7th of August captain Saris set off for the Japanese court, accompanied by ten Englishmen, but attended by a sufficient retinue, and proceeded through a populous country, partly by boats, and soon arrived at a town called Fuccate, where he "did land and dine there in the towne, the tyde and wind so strong against us, as that we could not passe. The towne seemed to be as greate as London is within the walls, very well built, and even, so as you may see from the one end of the street to the other. The place is exceedingly peopled, very civil and courteous, only that at our landing, and being here in Fuccate, and so through the whole country, whithersoever we came, the boys, children, and worser sort of idle people, would gather about and follow after us crying, *Core, Core, Cocore ware*, that is to say, *you Corcans with false hearts*: wondering, whooping, hollowing, and making such a noise about us,

that we could scarcely hear one another speak; sometimes throwing stones at us (but that not in many towns), yet the clamour and crying after us was every where alike, none reproving them for it. The best advice that I can give those who hereafter shall arrive there, is that they pass on without regarding those idle rabblements, and in so doing, they shall find their ears only troubled with the noise." This is, no doubt, wholesome advice; but it is a species of treatment to which Englishmen will not willingly submit. Indeed a trade with Japan would never repay us, if it were to be purchased with the humiliations to which the Dutch have for so many years submitted: for, according even to Thunberg's own account, the ambassador and his suite were treated more like dancing dogs than men, and forced to act as such, for the amusement of the Emperor and the ladies of his court: but these unpleasant demands, if properly denied at first, and that denial enforced by the presence of a British squadron, would not again be repeated. Whatever we attempt, our measures must be prompt and decisive; and cannot be at-

tended by the same difficulties as have always thwarted our embassies to China.

The Japanese court, at this period, were at Surunga, where captain Saris arrived early in September, and the account of his reception, in his own words, cannot fail to be interesting.

" As soon as we were settled in our lodgings, in Surunga, I sent master Adams to the court, to let the secretaries understand of my coming, and desire of as speedie dispatch as might be; word was returned that I was welcome, that I should rest me, and within a day or two, I should have access to the Emperor. The seventh was spent in fitting up of the presents, and providing little tables of slit deal of that country, (which smelleth very sweet), to carrie them uponne according to the custom.

" The eighth I was carried in my palanquin to the castle of Surunga, (where the Emperor kept his court) and was attended with my merchants, and others carrying the presents before me. Being entered the castle, I passed three draw-bridges, every of which had a corps of guard, and coming up a paire of verie faire and large stone staires,

was met by two grave comely men, the one of them *Codskadonu*, the Emperor's secretarie, the other *Fuegodono*, the admiral, who led me into a faire roome matted, where we sat down crosse-legged upon the mats. Anon they led me betwixt them into the chamber of Presence, where was the Emperor's chaire of state, to which they wished me to do reverence. It was of cloth of gold, about five feet high, very richly set forthe for backe and sides, but had no canopie over head. Then they returned back againe to the place where they did sit, where having stayed about one quarter of an houre word was brought that the Emperor was come forth. Then they rose up, and led me betwixt them to the doore of the roome where the Emperor was, making signes that I should enter in there, but durst not look in themselves. The presents sent from our King to the Emperor, as also those which (according to the custom of the country), I gave unto the Emperor as from myselfe, were placed in the said roome, upon the mats very orderly, before the Emperor came into it. Coming to the Emperor, *according to our English compliments*, I delivered our King's letter

unto his Majestie, who tooke it in his hand, and put it up towards his forehead, and commanded his interpreter, who sate a good distance from him behind, to will master Adams to tell me, that I was welcome from a wearisome journey, that I should take my rest for a day or two, and that his answer should be readie for our King. Then he asked me whether I did not intend to visit his sonne at Edoo. I answered, I did. The Emperor said, that order should be taken to furnish mee with men and horses for the journey, and against my return his letters should be readie for our King. So taking my leave of the Emperor, and coming to the door where I had left the secretarie and the admiral, &c."

Thus ended his first interview, and in such a way as no Englishman could possibly be insulted by, even as ambassador; and on the ensuing day, captain Saris " delivered the articles of priviledge to Codskedonu, being in number fourteene. He requested to have them abbreviated, and made as short as might be; for that the people of Japan affect brevitie. The tenth, the articles so abridged, were sent by master Adams to the secretarie, who

shewed them to the Emperor, and he approved thereof, denying one only which was, That whereas the Chinese had refused to trade with the English, that in case we should now take any of them by force, that our nation might have leave and liberty to bring them into Japan, and there make sale of the goods so taken. At the first motion, the Emperor answered, that seeing they denyed us trade, we might take them. But upon conference with the Lieger of China, the Emperor's mind was changed, and would not allow that article. The rest were passed under his greate seale, which is not of waxe (as ours), but stamped like a print and coloured red."

The probable future importance of these articles, cannot fail to justify their insertion here.

"Privileges granted by Ogoshosama, Emperor of Japan, unto the Right Worshipful Sir Thomas Smith, Knight, Governor, and others the Honourable and Worshipful Adventurers to the East Indies.

1. *Imprimis*, We give free licence to the subjects of the King of Great Britain, viz, Sir Thomas Smith, Governor, and Company of the East

Indian merchants and adventurers, for ever safely to come into any of our ports of our empire of Japan, with their shippes and merchandizes, without any hindrance to them or their goods. And to abide, buy, sell, and barter, according to their owne manner, with all nations; to tarry here as long as they think good, and to depart at their pleasures.

II. *Item*, We grant unto them freedom of custom, for all such merchandizes as either now they have brought, or hereafter shall bring into our kingdome, or shall from hence transport to any foreign part. And doe authorize those shippes that hereafter shall arrive, and come from England, to proceed to present sale of their commodities, *without further coming or sending up to our court.*

III. *Item*, If any of their shippes shall happen to lie in danger of shipwrecke, we will our subjects not only to assist them, but that such part of shippes and goods as shall be saved, be returned to their captains, or Cape merchants or their assignes. And that they shall, or may build one house or more for themselves in any part of our

empire, where they shall thinke fittest and at their departure to make sale thereof at their pleasure.

IV. *Item*, If any of the English merchants, or other, shall depart this life, within our dominions, the goods of the deceased, shall remaine at the disposal of the Cape merchant. And that all offences committed by them shall be punished by the said Cape merchant, according to his discretion: and our laws to take no hold of their persons or goods.

V. *Item*, We will that ye, our subjects, trading with them for any of their commodities, pay them for the same, according to agreement, without delay, or returne of their wares again unto them.

VI. *Item*, For such commodities as they have now brought, or shall hereafter bring, fitting for our service and proper use; We will, that no arrest be made thereof, but that the price be made with the Cape merchant, according as they may sell to others, and present payment upon the delivery of the goods.

VII. *Item*, If in discovery of other countries for trade, and return of their shippes, they shall

neede men or victuals, We will, that ye our subjects, furnish them for their money, as their needs shall require.

VIII. *Item*, And that without other passeport, they shall, and may set out upon the discovery of Yeadzo, or any other part in or about our empire.

From our castle in Surunga, the first day of ninth month, and in the eighteenth year of our Dary, according to our computation. Sealed with our broad Seale.

Underwritten,

Minna Mottono

Yei. Ye. Yeas."

Terms so favorable, and so freely granted, manifest an anxious wish on the part of the Emperor and his people, to open a commercial communication with England. That a similar spirit would manifest itself, provided existing prejudices could be removed, is equally to be expected—let us then look forward with hope, and in the meantime return to Saris's transactions, who, on the day after the granting of these articles, delivered all his subordinate presents, especially to the mint-

master, the Emperor's own merchant, accompanied by a list of the prices of all the English commodities.

On the 12th, Saris set out for Edoo or Jeddo, to visit the heir apparent, where they arrived two days afterwards, and were received in the most friendly manner, their presents received and others returned, particularly for the King of England. Captain Saris now left Jeddo for Surunga, where he received numerous presents for King James, accompanied by the following Imperial letter:—

"*To the* KINGE *of Great-Britaine:*

Your Majesty's kind letter sent me by your servant Captain John Saris, (who is the first that I have knowne to arrive in any part of my dominions) I heartily embrace, being not a little glad to understand of your great wisdom and power, as having three plentiful and mighty Kingdomes under your powerful command. I acknowledge your majesties great bountie in sending mee so undeserved a present of many rare things, such as my land afforded not, neither have I ever before

seene: which I receive not as from a stranger, but as from your majestie whom I esteeme as myselfe. Desiring the continuance of friendship with your Highnesse: and that it may stand with your good liking, to send your subjects to any part or parts of my dominions, where they shall be most heartily welcome, applauding much their worthinesse in the admirable knowledge of navigation, having with much facilitie discovered a countrie so remote, being no whit amazed with the distance of so mightie a gulfe, nor greatnesse of such infinite clouds and storms, from prosecuting honorable enterprizes, of discoveries and merchandizing; wherein they shall find mee to further them, according to their desires. I returne unto your majestie a small token of my love (by your said subject), desiring you to accept thereof, as from him that much rejoiceth in your friendship. And, whereas your majesties subjects have desired certaine privileges for trade, and settling of a factory in my dominions, I have not only granted what they demanded, but have confirmed the same unto them, under my broad seale, for better establishing thereof. From my castle of Surunga, this fourth

day of the ninth month, in the eighteenth year of our Dary, according to our computation. Resting your majesties friend. The highest commander in this kingdom of Japan.

(*Subscribed*) MINNA MOTTONO.

Yei. Ye. Yeas."

On the receipt of these documents, Saris prepared for departing from Surunga, on his return to Firando, and in the mean time a Spanish ambassador arrived there, from the Philippines, who was very coldly received; his demand being, that all Spaniards and Portuguese then at Japan without the King of Spain's licence, should be delivered up to him to carry to Manilla. It was believed, that this demand was made for the purpose of procuring men for the defence of Manilla, against an expected attack of the Dutch: but the Japanese Emperor did not consider the demand a justifiable one, and his answer was, that Japan was a free country, therefore, none should be forced out of it, but if the ambassador could persuade any to go with him, they should not be prevented.

On the 9th of October, Saris set out for his ship, well pleased with the happy success of his

embassy, which was indeed the more remarkable, as, only a month previous to his arrival, the Emperor, being displeased with the Christians, and the catholic missionaries, had issued a decree, that all the converts should remove to Nangasaki; and that no christian church should stand, nor mass be sung, within ten leagues of his court, upon pain of death. The extreme facility of conversion, in Japan at that period, is exemplified by Saris, in an anecdote which he relates of twenty-seven of the native converts, men of high rank, having assembled in a leprous hospital, for privacy, when a mass was celebrated. The Emperor hearing of this, ordered them to be confined for one night in a prison, and then put to death. In the mean time, another Japanese, (not a convert), was put into the same prison for debt, on the very evening of their committal, and the next morning, when the officers of justice arrived for their victims, ordering those that were Christians to come forth to execution, and those who were not, to stay behind, this man was so affected by the exhortation of his christian companions, that he resolutely came out with the rest, and was crucified with them. Many similar

stories have been told by the Jesuits; but these appear to have come within Saris's own observation.

On his return he seems to have been treated handsomely, except at Osaca, where he and his companions were again insulted by the mob who called them Josin, or Chinese, flinging stones as before, in which they were encouraged by the people of highest rank in the place.

Arriving at Firando, his welcome was as friendly as ever; but he found that very few goods had been sold, and that only privately, in consequence of the general custom, that no stranger should be permitted to offer goods to sale, without the express Imperial permission: and here the following extract is not unimportant. "Besides our chiefest commoditie intended for these parts, being broad cloth, the natives were now more backward to buy than before, because, they saw that wee ourselves were no forwarder in weering the thing, which wee recommended unto them. For, said they, you commend your cloath unto us, but you, yourselves, wear leest thereof, the better sort of you wearing silken garments, the

meaner, fustians, &c. Whereupon, hoping that good counsel may (though iate) come to some good purpose, I wish that our nation would be more forward to use and spend the natural commodities of our own country, so shall wee better encourage and allure others to the entertainments and expence thereof."

Saris was much annoyed at this period with quarrels amongst his people, several of whom went on shore for the purpose of fighting, but were happily prevented; for old King *Foyne* told him plainly, that if any came on shore to fight, and shed blood in his country, he would order them to be cut in pieces, as he could not permit that Englishmen, in that point, should have more licence t an his own subjects.

It was now determined to establish a factory at Firando, to which Saris says, he and his coadjutors were prompted by the following reasons:—the great encouragement which they recently understood, had been afforded to the English in the Moluccas—the existence of a Dutch factory at the place—the privileges obtained from the Emperor —the certain advice of English factories at Siam,

and other places in the vicinity—and the quantity of goods yet remaining unsold, on which it was hoped that a considerable future profit might be realized. Mr. Richard Cocks was appointed Captain and Cape merchant of the factory, and had with him seven Englishmen, three Japanese interpreters, and two servants; Adams being one of the Englishmen, and next in rank to Cocks, with a salary of one hundred pounds per annum. Saris next received a letter from the King of Firando, addressed to the King of England, expressive of his high satisfaction at the arrival of English ships, and promising to render the factory every service in his power: and on the 4th of December, he sailed for England, where he drew up a list of such articles as he considered most likely to suit the Japan trade, for the use of the India Company.

These were broad cloths, black, yellow and red; fine baizes of same colours, well napped: serges; silk grograms and camblets; velvets; musk, sold for its weight in silver; India cloths, satins; damasks; Holland cloths; diaper; thread of all colours; carpets for tables; gilded leather painted with pictures and flowers; painted pictures,

especially of a warlike nature by sea or land; quick-silver; vermilion; paint and cosmetics; copper, in plates; lead, in small bars; lead, in thin sheets; tin, in blocks; iron; steel; tapestry; leaf-gold; gold-twist or sewing gold; sugar in candy, and in powder; gauzes; raw silk; silk-thread; glass of all kinds; salt; blank-paper books; Spanish soap; amber; silk stockings; fine leather; glove leather; candle-wax; honey; pepper; spices; drugs, especially columbo root; coloured wood for cabinet ware; elephants' tusks; harts' horns, gilded; roche-alum, &c.

The returns he stated to consist of hemp; blue dye-stuffs, almost as good as indigo; various other dye-stuffs; brimstone; cotton; wool; and rice.

The factory being established, trade was carried on upon a liberal footing, under the protection of the chiefs of Firando, whom our merchants there called the old and young Kings. Junks were purchased and employed in trade with Siam, and other places, under the command of Adams; and in the mean time the Emperor published his decree, previous to 1614, banishing all Jesuits,

priests, friars and nuns out of Japan, shipping some of them for Macao, and others for Manilla, and burning all the churches and monasteries; but without any molestation to the English factory. A civil war was also on the point of breaking out, which induced the Emperor to purchase their military stores, and lead; besides a quantity of their cloths. It was further stated, in a letter written by Cocks to Saris, dated 10th of December 1614, that the stipulations respecting relief from all further visits to the Emperor was broken through, as every ship on her arrival "must carry a present to the Emperor as a custom; neither can we set out any Junks, without procuring the yearly licence of the Emperor, otherwise no Japan mariner dare go out of Japan upon pain of death, only our owne shippes from England may come in, and goe out againe, when they will, and no man gainsay it."

Cocks further spoke of the difficulty of opening a trade with Corea: indeed at this period we had no communication with China, and Cocks in another letter to a friend said, that the good report and fame which the English nation

had obtained since the establishment of a factory, and which had found its way to the Chinese court, was likely to open an intercourse with that country.

During the years 1615 and 16, the factors at Firando were not only engaged in the Japanese traffic, but also busily employed in carrying on an intercourse with Siam, the Loo Choo Islands, and indeed under the immediate patronage of the Emperor, who seems to have admitted the most friendly intervention of the English in many points, whilst the Spaniards, the Portuguese, and even the Dutch were treated with coldness and disrespect. It appears, however, from a letter written by the chief of the factory, in February 1617, that some of their commercial objects were yet unattained, as he says "wee have beene this yeare againe before the Emperor of Japan, but cannot get our privileges enlarged; but trade only at Firando and Langasqué" (Nangasaki), "and our English shipping to come for Firando only."

At this period, the English character received considerable detriment from the most unwarrantable conduct of the Dutch, who had a squa-

dron cruizing in these seas against the Spaniards; but which also carried on a predatory war against the Chinese, taking especial care at the same time to call themselves Englishmen. There can be no doubt that this was one of the operative causes, which subsequently excited jealousies in the counsels of the Japanese government; but as such underhand dealings can no longer exist, we have thence, a fairer prospect of preserving the British commercial and political character unsullied, in the event of a renewed intercourse. Cocks in one of his letters of 1617, says, that the Dutch were actually permitted, by the Japanese, to bring their Chinese prizes into Firando and sell them, although that article had been previously refused to Captain Saris; but he adds—"and as I said before, they have robbed all the Chinese in the name of Englishmen, which hath done much hurt to our proceeding to get trade in that place; so that we were forced to send new supplies to give the Governors in China to understand that they are Hollanders which did it, and not Englishmen." He complains also of the hostile conduct of the Dutch to the English factory, on the arrival of a large

fleet, when they attacked our factory, and would actually have put all the English merchants to the sword, had it not been for the interference of the Japanese; but he states that the King of Firando refused "to execute justice against them, although the Emperor commanded him to do it."

At this period the martyrdom of Japanese Christianswas very frequent. Cocks relates, that he saw four or five lose their lives at Meaco. amongst whom there were infants of five or six years old burned in their mothers arms! Even the churches were dug up from the foundations; the dead torn from their graves; and Japanese pagodas erected upon their scites.

Though the communications with the factory at Firando had generally been through the medium of Bantam, as a kind of entrepot, yet several instances occurred of direct intercourse between England and Japan, especially in 1621, when captain Pring went there in the James Royal, when the Japanese were highly delighted with the ship, she being 1000 tons burthen; an interview was also had with the Emperor, and every thing seemed to promise the most continued friendship.

At the close of 1622, Cock wrote home to Saris, stating, great intestine troubles and a dangerous conspiracy against the Emperor, to have taken place in Japan, which seems to have been very unfavorable to British interests, by the prejudice thereby excited against all foreigners, concluding his letter—" Thus much I thought good to advise you, of the present state of Japan, much altered from that it was, at your being heere, and for the rest I hope to tell you by word of mouth at my returne unto England, which I hope to do the next yeare, God sparing me life and libertie."

In fact, his return to England seems to have been accompanied by the breaking up of the whole plan; for, speakiug of the factory, Sir T. Raffles in the appendix to his history of Java says, that one great object, at the commencement, with the English India Company, appears to have been to introduce themselves to a connection with the Chinese, and to carry on a general trade between India, China, and Japan; but finding themselves disappointed in their endeavours to form connections with China, and sustaining heavy losses in consequence of their trade with Japan, they de-

termined in 1623, to abandon their establishment there: a resolution which, however at first sight it must be regretted, may prove favourable in its final results, as it certainly prevented any personal hostilities between the British and Japanese nations.

At the very moment however, when the troubles were beginning in England that put a stop, for a time, almost to all commercial enterprize; circumstances took place, in Japan, that operated most powerfully at a subsequent period to prevent the renewal of our intercourse with that country. In the early part of the 17th century, (as has been noticed) the Dutch had sent several fleets to Japan, from which they derived considerable profits, and their spirit of commercial monopoly had already induced them to excite jealousies respecting both England and Portugal, in hopes of promoting their exclusion from Japan, when the conduct of the missionaries brought about that, which Dutch intrigue might perhaps have failed in. The Portuguese and other Jesuits had been very favorably received by the Japanese, and had made many converts, when a civil war took place, in a great measure excited by religious dissensions; and a report

was soon raised, and as readily believed, that it was the intention of the Jesuits to deliver up Japan to the King of Portugal, to whom they were stated to have made the offer, he being also declared to be at that time fitting out eight large ships well manned, filled with troops, and provided with every thing necessary for an enterprize of such magnitude.

It is true that such a force, of itself alone, could not be of any avail against an Empire so large and so populous; but then it was given out that the Portuguese depended for success on the good intelligence which the Jesuits were known to hold with many of the most powerful Princes and nobles, whom they had converted to the catholic faith, and who were quite ready to put arms into the hands of their vassals, and could thus raise a force fully sufficient to overpower the Imperial army, and to put the Emperor to death, if he should refuse to submit to Portuguese dominion. No sooner was this treason discovered, or at least no sooner believed, than measures were taken to drive away all the Portuguese from Japan, which took place

in 1641, accompanied by the massacre of a number of priests, together with an host of their converts.

The Dutch now eagerly took advantage of the prepossession against the Portuguese, and for some time had almost a free commerce with Japan which yielded them immense profits; to secure which they judged it expedient to establish a regular embassy to Jeddo, to the temporal Emperor, every three years, making him numerous and valuable presents, and carefully communicating every thing which could increase the jealousy of Portugal, and of England also.

That the profits of the Japanese trade were then immense, has been recently ascertained by Sir T. S. Raffles, whilst Governor of Java, who observes, at page 242 of the first volume of his interesting work respecting that island, that from the first establishment of the Dutch commerce with Japan down to the year 1671, their speculations were unrestricted, and their profits enormous. But it must still be acknowledged, that the period in question was the golden age of their trade; indeed it might perhaps have continued as valuable, had they acted with due commercial pru-

dence; but Sir T. R. describes them as having opened a mine of wealth, which they fondly, though foolishly, thought inexhaustible, as well as rich and easily wrought. In 1640, the Dutch Company actually obtained a return in gold, that yielded a profit of upwards of a million of Guilders. For some time previous to 1663, they were accustomed to procure a return of silver to the extent of 200 chests of 100 pounds each, and it was suggested that it would be desirable for as many chests of gold of the same weight, to be sent in future. In these expectations however, they speedily found themselves disappointed; and, as Sir T. R. informs us, the golden and silver ages of Japan commerce being passed, the latter part of the 17th century began with what the Dutch call its "Brazen Age," that is, its exports of copper, which has ever since continued the staple of the Japan market.

Such was the state of the Dutch trade with Japan, when the happy settlement of the intestine troubles in England, by the Restoration, revived the spirit of commercial enterprize, and an expedition was fitted out in 1673, under the immediate

approval and patronage of Charles the Second, which sailed for India, stopped at Bantam, and arrived at Nangasaki in June 1674, under the direction of Simon Delboe, Hammond Gibben, and William Ramsden.

The whole of the business is very clearly and candidly detailed in the second volume of *Charlevoix's Histoire et Description du Japan*, page 465 —a detail highly deserving the notice both of our own Government and the India Company, as it plainly manifests that the ordinances, which operate against a renewed intercourse, might be removed without much difficulty. Perhaps if a commercial intercourse were established with Loo-Choo, so well described in the recent works on the Chinese Embassy, the jealousy of the Japanese, with respect to us as foreigners and christians, might be gradually softened so as to render subsequent negociations certain of success.

Our limits do not permit any thing beyond a sketch of the most material points respecting this attempt at renewed intercourse, it must suffice therefore to state, that some boats having come along-side on their first arrival off Nangasaki, the

people refused to go on board, when they understood it was an English ship; but they requested the strangers to come to an anchor, at the same time stipulating that no guns should be fired nor trumpets sounded. Shortly after, the governor and secretary went on board, and were received with every respect: and the captain told them that he came with licence from the King of England, for the East-India Company to trade and to have commerce with them, as had been done several years before, but not these forty-nine years past. He added, that he had brought letters from the King, and from the East-India Company to the Japanese Emperor, presenting them at the same time with a copy of the articles granted at the first establishment of the factory, in 1612. The Japanese governor and his assistants perused this with much attention, and then asked for the original with the Emperor's seal attached to it; to which the English captain replied, that when the establishment was broken up, the original treaty was returned to the Imperial council. The Japanese then enquired if England was at peace with Spain and Portugal; how long Charles had been

married to the Portuguese Infanta; and how many children they had? The captain seems now to have suspected some difficulties would arise from this Portuguese connection, and attempted to explain it away by saying, that although Charles had been married about eleven years, yet he had no children by the Queen, and that it was customary for our Kings to marry with their equals to strengthen their alliance, and for other reasons of State, and not with their own subjects. He then informed them that he had some presents for the Emperor, which seemed to afford great satisfaction; after which, the Japanese enquired what was the religion of the English. The answer was, that we were not papists; but of the same sect of christianity as the Dutch. The next question was, what goods were brought; this was answered in general terms; the Japanese seemed content, and their whole party went on shore.

Two hours afterwards the same party came an board again, and said, that if the English would be content to trade as the Dutch did, they should be permitted to do so; but then, according to the Japanese custom and manner, it was necessary that

the guns, ammunition and boats, should be delivered into their hands to be carried ashore, promising that nothing should be diminished. They next promised to send to the Emperor, on receipt of whose answer, the English should be permitted to go on shore and to have a house: notwithstanding all which apparent friendship, their jealousy began to display itself, by placing boats all round the ship, filled with soldiers. The Japanese Governor then examined every one of the ship's crew personally, having a Dutchman to assist, and asking every individual whether he was a Portuguese or not, or could speak that language; and after some unimportant questions he went on shore, taking with him the ship's boats and as much of the ammunition as he could carry on shore. This, of course, is a species of degradation to which even our merchantmen in future must never submit: perhaps the best method of settling the business at once, will be for men of war alone to proceed thither in the first instance; after which, the point of precedent being once established, the demand may be more easily avoided by the Company's ships, or private traders.

On the following day, the same Japanese returned on board, and commenced their operations by asking a number of questions. The first of these was—"what was the reason of so long an intermission of intercourse as forty-nine years?" to which the answer was "that we had, for about twenty years, civil wars in England, and twice wars with the Dutch, and that it was no small matter to resolve upon so long a voyage, it being very difficult and dangerous." Then they asked, if any person on board had ever been there before; and being told there were not any, their suprize was very great at the ship's having entered the harbour without a pilot, nor were their surprize or their fears diminished when they were shewn the charts, by help of which, the ship was brought in, although they professed to appear content. This morning they were permitted to carry on shore the remainder of the ammunition, leaving not even a musket or sword on board belonging to any individual, and carrying with them, a double-barrelled gun and some pistols for the Emperor. The captain in his account of the transaction says—"They wrote down exactly every thing

they took on shore, and compared their accounts in the great cabin before the secretary; who approved thereof, and with great courtesy took his leave, promising that with all speed we should have an answer from Jeddo, and admittance to trade: I gave them thanks, and said we no ways questioned their honorable performance; they said they would not take our great guns ashore, but leave them aboard for our conveniency."

It is to be hoped, that the next English ship, which enters their harbour, will also have her shot so heavy, that they will leave them on board likewise, for *our* and *their own* conveniency!

The next day those personages returned, asked an immense number of questions, and thus gave the English captain an opportunity of refuting several falsehoods, which the Dutch had already begun to disseminate, particularly about our supposed connxtion with some pirates, by whom the Japanese had recently been alarmed and annoyed. They also held a second examination of the crew, enquiring particularly into every man's little stock of private trade; they measured the ship,

the masts and yards; and in going away promised to send off any thing that might be wanted on making a weft, with the ensign; cautioning them against throwing any person overboard who might chance to die; and again assured the captain that they had sent to the Emperor, wishing that the English would be cheerful and contented.

The next day others came off, asking much after political news. Refreshments also were sent; but at a most extravagant price. The journal now states—"I asked them leave to wear our colours, and sound our trumpets, which they said we might do; and at their departure we sounded; I desired them to lose no time in sending up to the Emperor; they told me they had sent away two days before, and that we might rest contented; they made no doubt but we should have a kind reception, and with all speed possible. *We daily went to prayers, with singing of psalms publicly upon the quarter-deck.*

"NOTE.—That all questions they put to us they did it in the Portugal language, and were answered in the same, or Spanish, and then put the

same into Dutch again; and thus they constantly did, asking one thing five or six times over, and every time had their answer for their more certain understanding; so that all persons in these parts should have one or both these languages."

About two days afterwards some Japanese officers went on board and asked a number of questions about the various sects of christianity, and the nations professing each, after which a conversation took place which is of sufficient importance to be inserted here, verbatim.

"It being Sunday, we put out our colours with St. George's cross; they asked us why we put out colours to day, not having spread them before since our arrival? I said, this was our Sunday, which comes every seventh day, and it was our custom so to do; they again asked us what way we worshipped God? I said by prayer every morning and even, unto the great God of Heaven above. Whether the Dutch did the like? I told them I believed they did; with all which they seemed satisfied: and having asked these questions six or seven times over, they wrote them down, together with my answers, and gave them to me

to sign, which I did, although I knew not their character. The same evening, about an hour after, they returned aboard again, and said that in our colours, we now put, there was a cross, how it came that, when we first came, the colours we then wore had no cross on them, only stripes white and red? I answered, the colours we came with were new colours of silk, made at Tywan" (Formosa) "red and white without a cross; because the Chinese had told us, they were great enemies to the cross for the Portuguese sake, and that it would be better taken not to wear the cross at our first entrance; they asked to see the colours we came in with; I said it being a rainy day at our entrance, those new colours were spoiled and taken to pieces; yet they desired to see them, which being brought they were satisfied; then I said, these colours, that we now wear, were the right English colours, and had been worn by the English nation for several hundred years; and that, when we were last at Firando, they were worn by our English ships; and that the Dutch knew very well that they were our colours, whom I desired them to ask for their satisfaction. They said one of the interpreters' father

had been interpreter to the English, and that he was still living, and that they would enquire of him; moreover I said, we did not wear the cross as in worship or superstition, but as being worn by the English nation for distinction, and that the Portuguese colours and cross were much different from ours; they asked if ever England had been under the government of Portugal or Spain, and had received this cross from them? I told them we never had been subject to either of them; but that it being so long since our using them, I could not tell them certainly what was the cause of our first wearing them, being used by us time out of mind, and according as I had read in history about six hundred years; and that our King was a monarch of three great nations, and far greater than the King of Portugal."

The Japanese seemed satisfied with the detail; but two Dutch ships from Batavia arriving the next day, the English displayed all their colours with the cross in them "flag, ancient, and jack "at their coming in—" about ten of the clock came aboard the interpreters with two chief men, and they told us that for the future, until other orders

came from Jeddo, they would not advise us to wear our colours with the cross in them, it being so nigh the Portugal cross, the generality of the people would take our cross to be the Portugal cross; any other colours we might wear, but not in the form of a cross: this the interpreters advised us to observe from them as our friends, not that it was the command of the Governor or Emperor, and by this means we might be assured of the Japanese friendship and of a trade."

New difficulties now started, upon the arrival of the Dutch ships; for at eight o'clock on the evening of their anchoring, the two chief secretaries and seven interpreters returned on board, and told the captain, that they had been examining the Dutch commander, who informed them that the English and the French were in alliance and carrying on a war against the Hollanders, "then asking me (that as the Hollanders and we had made peace five or six years since, and promised to assist each other, and were both of one religion) how it came to pass that we fell out with the Dutch, and joined with the French, that was a Roman catholic; I answered, that when we came from En-

gland, all was at peace, and at our being at Bantam the like, and that we knew of no wars, more than what they now told me these two ships brought advice of, much less could I give any reason for the same; and that I did not believe what the Dutch reported, unless there came news from England or Bantam to confirm it. Then they shewed me a paper signed by Mr. Martinus Cæsar, chief for the Dutch here, wherein he declared the above-said news to be true, and hath promised the Governor of this place, that notwithstanding there was war between the two nations, that in this port both by water and land, he and his men should live peaceably by us, as likewise in any part of the Emperor of Japan's country, for such were his commands; and therefore required of me to sign the like paper, with promises that I and our nation should live peaceably with the Dutch, and not put any affronts upon them, which, if we did as they desired, they told us, the Emperor would protect us (though but new comers unto his country), as much as he should the Dutch; for which I returned him thanks, and made him the same promises, and signed to a paper in the Japan character

according to their custom. This they several times repeated, that we should have the same friendship as the Dutch, although they had been there many years, and we but newly come; but they expected our peaceable living both here and upon their coast; and that, as soon as the Emperor's answer came from Jeddo, they would provide all things ashore for our convenience and security. They required me to promise, that when the other ships came that we expected, they should do the like, which I did. I also proposed to them, that since there was war between the two nations, they would let our ships depart first out of their ports, for the Dutch were like to be double the number of ships to us, and in case they went out first, in all probability they would lie in wait for us, and fight us at our going to sea; which proposition they said was but reason, and that upon receiving the Emperor's orders for our reception, we might propose that, or any thing we judged necessary."

The whole of the details marks such good sense and moderation on the part of the Japanese people, independent of the policy of their government, to say nothing of their apparent good will

towards the English nation, and is, upon the whole so different from the shuffling conduct of the Chinese, that we cannot err in forming even sanguine hopes respecting the issue of any future attempt at the renewal of commercial intercourse, provided judicious means shall be used, and a foundation laid by a progressive acquaintance through the medium of our Chinese trade, or the Loo-Choo Islands.

These English visitors now suffered some inconvenience from regulations respecting the supply of provisions, which, of course, it may be proper to guard against as a precedent in future intercourse. The journal says, that hogs, fish and vegetables, &c., were brought off to them ; " all our provisions amounting to six Copangs and a quarter, which we paid with thanks ; every thing being excessive dear, contrary to what we were informed at *Tiwan*, of this place, but we find the price of every small thing to be put down by order of the Government ; and it not being fitting for us to refuse any thing they bring us for our relief, until we have admittance to trade, and a house ashore, we pay for every thing at the rates they put them

at for compliance sake. The interpreters tell us that the Dutch pay the same rates."

A few days afterwards, the negociation came to a close; as the journal proceeds to state that "on the 28th of July, in the morning about ten o'clock, came on board our ship with three boats, the chief secretaries, one banjoise, with seven interpreters, and other attendants. They told us they had received letters from the Emperor, whom they had acquainted with our being here, and with the intent of our coming to trade, upon account of our former friendship, (all which, as they were advised, had been considered) *but in regard our King was married with the daughter of Portugal their enemy, they could not admit us to have any trade, and for no other reason.* This they said was the Emperor's pleasure, and express orders; and therefore they could make no alteration in it. They likewise said, we must be gone with the first wind, nay, within twenty days. I replied it was impossible for us to go till the monsoons changed. They asked how many days we desired? I replied forty-five days hence, I supposed the winds might be favourable. They said what pro-

visions we wanted to supply our occasions we should have, and seemed to give consent to our staying until the monsoons changed. They did express themselves very sorry that we could not be admitted to trade. I several times alledged, that we had licence by our last articles to come here and trade, and that we had been nigh two years upon this voyage; wherefore, I desired, again and again, that we might be admitted to sell this ship's lading of goods. They said they could make no alteration in what the Emperor had commanded; that we must begone, and come hither no more; for by reason of our alliance with Portugal they would not admit us. They told us we should have our ammunition, &c. again, and so departed."

Unwilling to give up at once every chance of commercial intercourse, the Captain, with laudable perservance, determined to try another method of introducing English goods to the view of the people, and accordingly he made a signal the next day for the interpreters, from whom he made a demand for provisions, wood, water, &c., to a considerable amount, telling them that he had no more money, and desiring them to take payment in goods,

offering them English cloths, or Chinese silks, as might be preferred. They took a memorandum of his request, promising to return the next day, and bring some supplies; and, when they were gone, the Captain judged it necessary to hold a consultation with his officers, respecting the preparation of the ship for warlike defence, and also upon a point important to future visitors—"for, finding several of our men to be discontented for want of provisions, which we could not procure; and our voyage proving extremely long, we were fain to give them good words and large promises to make them amends, when we came where it was to be had, to prevent a mutiny, especially in our condition, for we might not (by the Japaneses' orders) strike our men for any crime, which we were more ready to observe, lest they should take any advantage against us: our lives, with ship and goods being in their power, and we deprived of all means to help ourselves, we were full of trouble in our minds; God in his infinite mercy deliver us out of their hands."

The next day the interpreters returned, and demanded an account of what supplies would be

wanted weekly, during the stay, and for six weeks store for the voyage to Bantam, but so tenacious were they of the Emperor's order, that they would only engage to take *Chinese* goods in return: an arrangement to which the Captain was obliged to assent, though very unwillingly.

Notwithstanding this apparent strictness, yet the interpreters, banjoises, and others went on board two days afterwards, enquiring after English rarities and offering to purchase them; but the prices they offered were so small, supposing no doubt that the English would be glad to take any price for them, that no purchases took place. The next day the chief magistrate and secretaries went on board to look at the English goods, but under the pretence of another examination, during which they asked an immense number of questions, carrying with them, when they went on shore, several articles of British manufacture to shew to the Governor.

On the 26th of August, preparations were nearly made for departure, on which day the chief magistrates and secretaries going on board, a conversation took place which merits peculiar

notice—" they asked one question now more than formerly, which was, since it was forty-nine years since our being here, caused, as I had told them, by the civil wars, which we had nigh for twenty years, and twice wars with the Dutch, and in all that time having trade with Bantam, why we did not come for Japan, as well as for Bantam? I answered, that the trade between England and Bantam was chiefly continued for pepper, which was bought yearly, with what was sent out of England, and returns made immediately, which could be done with a small stock; but the trade for Japan could not be carried on from England directly, but required a settlement in several places in India, as Tonquin, Siam, Cambodia, and Tywan, which several factories required a stock of twenty tun of gold, which our honourable employers had resolved to set apart, to furnish the trade with such commodities, as were proper for this market, which being so considerable a sum, (besides the employment of many ships) it was no small matter to resolve upon so great an adventure, which required time, and peace, and other matters for their encouragement; which, until now, they had not found convenient:

and these I supposed were the reasons inducing our company now to prosecute this voyage: they seemed contented with this answer. After, they told me, the wind being come fair, and they having furnished us with what we requested for our maintenance of life, and for the carrying on our voyage to Bantam, which was according to the Japan courtesy, we must be gone from hence the next day. We should have our boats sent us, and all our ammunition, and we must depart peaceably without shooting off any guns in the jurisdiction of the Japan Emperor, which I promised I would perform. I asked whether we might wear our colours? They said, that we might wear any colours that had no cross in them, our cross being offensive to them, for being nigh the Portugal cross. Then asking *whether we might return after the death of our Queen?* They answered, that possibly we might, if the Dutch and several Chinese did satisfy the Emperor that we were not in amity with Portugal; but he could not assure us we should have admission, our surest way was not to come; for the Emperor's commands (according to the Japanese saying), were like unto sweat that goeth out of a man's

body and hands, which never returneth in again: the Emperor's commands admit of no alteration."

After repeated interrogations, which, not bearing upon the commercial questions, require not any particular notice, the Japanese promised that the Dutch ships in port should not be permitted to sail for two months, in which time the English might arrive at Bantam; and a parting took place "with much outward courtesy and seeming reluctancy, for our not being admitted by the Emperor to settle a trade here."

The ensuing day, every thing was delivered up to them whilst in the harbour, including all kinds of arms, except the ammunition, in order to facilitate their departure, a favour never granted to the Dutch to whom they were then always sent in the offing; and, the wind being scant, forty Japanese boats were sent to tow them to a considerable distance where they anchored, and soon after received their powder, but with the strictest directions not to fire off any guns whilst on the coast, or even in the Japanese seas. The return of the ship to England, and the total failure of her attempt did not discourage the India Company from still retain-

ing hopes of a renewed intercourse; and with a view to that event, they established a factory on the island of Honan; but the ignorance of the true principles of trade, together with mismanagement, and heavy losses of various kinds, at length chilled the spirit of enterprize and perseverance, and that settlement was abandoned in 1682. At the present day, under all circumstances, political and commercial, we might hope for better success. The Chinese trade, however, appeared an object of too much importance to be lightly given up; accordingly every means were used to establish it; but it was not until the last year of the 17th century, 1699, that it could be considered as settled on a permanent footing, and in that year the factory at Canton was directed to effect, if possible, a communication with Japan through the medium of China. The results of these attempts were by no means commensurate with the hopes that had prompted them, and all thoughts of a Japanese trade seemed for some time abandoned: nor is it wonderful, when we recollect that in 1740, the profits of the Trade, to the Dutch, were so trifling

that their Company actually contemplated the removal of their factory, and the cessation of mercantile intercourse, their annual ships then never exceeding two, instead of eight or nine as in former years. A smuggling, or forced trade might indeed have been attempted; nay, it is surprising that nothing in that way has yet been tried by our own speculators. It must be confessed indeed, that the long continued prohibition of intercourse with foreigners must operate powerfully, at first, against any attempts on the part of English ships to commence any thing like a regular or even smuggling intercourse with them. When Captain King was off the eastern coast in 1771, on the breaking up of a fog, he descried a Japanese vessel coming down right before the wind. Curiosity and the desire of information naturally led every person upon deck, and he was eagerly taking measures to speak with her, when she instantly altered her course, and the Captain, fearing he might alarm them by any thing like a pursuit, very judiciously brought-to, and permitted the Japanese to pass a-head of him, about half a mile. Accord-

ing to the best estimate he could form, she was about 40 tons, with six hands on board. She had but one mast, on which was hoisted a common sail, extended by a yard aloft, the braces of which were worked forward. Half-way down the sail came three pieces of black cloth, at equal distances from each other. She was higher at each end than in the mid-ships; and Captain King imagined, from her appearance and form, that it was impossible for her to sail any otherwise than with the wind free. It is not unimportant to add, that it blew so hard immediately afterwards, as to bring the English ships under their courses, with the sea running as high as any one on board ever remembered to have seen it; and Captain King adds, that if the Japanese vessels are as Kœmpfer describes them, open in the stem, it would not have been possible for this vessel and another, which was seen in-shore, to have survived the fury of the storm; but as the appearance of the weather, all the preceding part of the day, foretold its coming, and one of the vessels had, notwithstanding, stood far out to sea, he infers that they really are capable

of bearing a gale of wind. But Kœmpfer only describes one species of vessels; whilst Spanberg speaks of another, which he calls Busses, in which he states, that they make voyages to the islands in the vicinity: and if that is correct some advantages might even speedily be realized by frequenting those ports, not Japanese, to which Japanese vessels may be in the habit of resorting.

The risque indeed, would be too great for individual speculators; but one or two small ships of war, with some skilful agents of the India Company on board, if judiciously directed, might not only facilitate but hasten the opening of a traffic that may eventually be of the highest advantage to this nation.

From 1699, to 1792, the Japanese trade seems to have been almost unthought of; but in that year, a select committee of India Directors was appointed for special investigation, who actually gave in a report, that an Export trade to Japan could never become an object of importance o our manufacturers, or as a vent for our produce, on the ground that the only returns must be in

copper, an article produced by our own mines, to the full extent of home consumption and foreign exportation!

It is, however, a curious fact that an English vessel, commanded by an Englishman, a Captain Stuart, actually visited Japan in 1797 and 1798. Nor is it less curious that the vessel carried American colours, with an American pass, and was sent thither by the Dutch authorities at Batavia. The fact is stated in Raffles' Java, in a note extracted from a work by Hogendorp, and well merits further enquiry and investigation.

It must be acknowledged and expected, indeed, that this extreme caution become habitual to the Japanese with respect to foreigners, arising out of their strict municipal regulations, will tend much, at first, to check free communication and friendly intercourse with commercial speculators at the present moment; yet, it is important to observe, that the distrust is rather on the part of the government than of the people, as is manifest from several facts, stated by Captain Broughton, of his Majesty's ship, Providence, who surveyed the Japanese seas in 1795-6-7, al-

though, upon the whole, he was perfectly correct in saying, that the same unremitted jealousy of foreigners seemed to pervade every place in those seas where the Providence touched at; and although the desires of the crew for wood and water were readily complied with, yet any wish of exploring the interior of the country, or of gaining a more perfect knowledge of its government, produce, and manners, was invariably and pertinaciously resisted. In his first visit, he only landed at Insu, the southern part of the land of Jesso, near Matsmai, where the natives visited him at sea, and were civil to him on shore: as were indeed, the few Japanese he met there; although they were very anxious for his departure; preventing him, also, from having any intercourse, as far as possible, with the people. In fact, the Japanese there did not scruple to go on board the Providence, asking many questions, shewing Captain Broughton their maps and charts, and displaying some knowledge of the Russian language, being able to converse with a seaman of that country then on board. Some of them even dined on board, in the most friendly manner; and upon the

whole, they seemed more afraid of their own government than of their foreign visitors.

It is worthy of notice, also, that even when off Jeddo, the seat of Empire, the Providence was visited by many fishing boats, which liberally supplied her crew with fish, without seeming to expect any thing in return ; to which Captain Broughton adds—" and having satisfied their curiosity, we parted mutually entertained"—a transaction altogether at variance with the cautious and insulting conduct which takes place in European intercourse with them, when under the paltry restrictions of their government. After the wreck of the Providence, Captain Broughton returned to the coast, in a small schooner, and when off Nambu was again visited by fishing boats, who came, out of curiosity, to look at them, and some of the people actually came on board, pressing them to go in ; after which, he returned to Endormo harbour, in Jesso, where he had formerly refitted, and was received in the most friendly manner by the inhabitants, until checked by the Japanese in office, who came from Matsmai expressly to look after the English, and prevent all intercourse ; anx-

iously urging their departure, but in a very civil manner, and evidently acting under orders by no means congenial with their own wishes. For they kept up a polite and even friendly behaviour, also presenting Captain Broughton with a map of the Japanese islands; in direct opposition to a fundamental law as stated by all the Dutch and other writers, and proved indeed, by these parties themselves strongly enjoining secresy, as otherwise they would be exposed to disgrace and punishment.

It is surely not an unfair conclusion, that there can be no great difficulty in commencing a trade with these people, if their government should be either coaxed, or frightened out of their present timid policy.

At present, under their existing municipal regulations, great caution will be necessary not only to guard against giving offence, but also, to avoid every concession which the Japanese might afterwards claim as a precedent. Considerable information may be gained, upon this subject, by reference to the narrative of Captain Krusenstern, who conducted thither a Russian embassy, in 1805,

but whose confined residence at, and necessarily contracted account of that spot, fully justify the expression in a preceding page, (iii) in reference to the manners and customs of Japan, where Thunberg is spoken of as the latest writer descriptive of that country. Though the same observation applies also to Langsdorff's account of the same embassy, yet both are rich in that information necessary for a commercial speculator, particularly the latter, whose residence on shore was equally an imprisonment, but whose more frequent intercourse with the Japanese enabled him to record numberless useful hints for the next English visitors to Japan.

It appears from Krusenstern's narrative, that he experienced and submitted to the same insulting treatment as the Dutch receive, all done in the politest manner, but still too degrading for any British ship, even a merchant-man, to submit to. He was obliged to deliver up his powder and arms, even to the officers' fowling-pieces, although the ambassador was permitted to bring his guard, of seven men, on shore with their musquets, and the officers were also allowed to retain their swords.

The Russians also were not permitted to go in their boats, even a short distance from the ship, except to a barren spot on a small island, where they were hedged in with bamboos so as to be precluded from the sight of any thing but the Heavens, as the Japanese forgot to put a roof on. All intercourse with the Dutch captains was forbidden ; and it was most unfeelingly ordered that no letters, whatever, should be sent to Russia, by way of Batavia, except a dispatch from the ambassador to his sovereign stating the arrival of the embassy and the welfare of all persons on board, and even that was exposed to the inspection of the governor of Nangasaki. So paltry indeed was the jealousy of the Japanese, and so degraded the acquiescence of the Dutch captains that when, on their sailing, they passed within hail of the Russian ship, they dared not even to answer to Captain Krusenstern's compliments of a happy voyage. They merely made a sign with their speaking trumpets, and the chief of the Dutch factory owned that they had received strict orders not to utter the least sound whatever, in reply to the Russians ! Indeed even the chief himself was under the same degrading regu-

lations, and often obliged to continue for several minutes in the most abject position before the lowest jack in office, or Banjos as they are called, without receiving the slightest acknowledgment, in return for his salute.

Notwithstanding the strictness of the Japanese, they were liberal in their supplies, every thing being procured on demand; but the Russians were not permitted to purchase the smallest article, not even a fan or snuff-box: nor would any Japanese venture to receive, from them, the smallest present.

The state of slavery in which the Japanese themselves are kept, not only with respect to their intercourse with foreigners, but also in common transactions with the officers of their own government, is most degrading, and renders an acquaintance with them of no value, except in a commercial point of view. Should ever that be effected upon a liberal principle, a great amelioration may take place in Japanese manners and in Japanese morals. At present, the degradations which Europeans have hitherto submitted to, instead of rendering commerce a blessing, have made it a curse, a school for the basest prejudice, and the seal of

Japanese slavery. It remains for England to burst their fetters, and by a liberal, but resolute and invincible policy to liberate the minds and bodies of an immense empire from the shackles of an ignorant despotism!

Krusenstern attempts an account of the first European intercourse with Japan; but it is totally at variance with the detail in the first pages of this introduction, drawn in fact from Adam's own letters, and other authentic sources, especially in respect to English commerce; yet he states a fact that we have not seen elsewhere recorded, that in 1803, a company of English merchants in Calcutta sent a ship, very richly laden, under the command of Captain Torey to Nangasaki, but she was ordered to quit the Japanese coast in twenty-four hours. He states also that the Americans failed in a similar project about two years previously.

Krusenstern is of opinion that a good trade might be opened with the Peninsula of Corea; and the Japanese are certainly very jealous of the European ships that might have attempted to navigate the sea between Corea and Japan.

Langsdorff entered further into minute and

useful particulars than it was possible for Krusenstern to do, and gives instructions delivered by the Japanese to Laxman in 1792, respecting the laws of that country in regard to foreign intercourse, stating that these laws are fixed and irrevocable; that it is a law that all ships, particularly if armed, * even though they come in fleets, shall immediately be put under arrest; that no persons are permitted to go into the interior of the country without leave, especially if armed, and that those who do so, *and are caught*, must never be permitted to return to their own country; that merchant vessels of other nations, or merchants, can only come to such places as are pointed out to them, and that with all ships of war, intercourse is strictly forbidden, under whatever pretence they may appear on the Japanese coasts.

This precious document concluded with the clause that the Christian Religion cannot be permitted in Japan, and therefore that all permitted visitors must abstain from every act of religious

* The Japanese police will find it difficult to enforce this law, on a British man of war.

worship whatever! Much as our indignation must be raised at such illiberal and cowardly restrictions, we certainly have no right to force them to more rational conduct; yet it may fairly be concluded that to do so would be productive of infinite benefit to the people: for it is a curious fact that out of fifteen Japanese, who were wrecked upon the coast of the Russian settlements, and carried to Irkutsk the capital of Siberia, where they resided some years, only five chose to return to their native country, when the offer was made of sending them home under the care of the Russian Embassy; and these five appear to have been the most worthlesss of the party.

Langsdorff states a very curious circumstance on their arrivel of Nangasaki, not mentioned by Krusenstern, that a "boat came out, conveying a *white flag with a blue cross*, and a number of Japanese characters upon it"—a circumstance which shows that the difficulty stated in page lii, is not likely to be repeated.

Notwithstanding the strict regulations enforced by the Japanese authorities, their conduct evidently showed that a more liberal behaviour may

well be expected whenever a relaxation takes place in their state policy; and it is important to remark that the Russian Ambassador, at an early visit of some of the *great men*, having complained of the conduct and behaviour of the Japanese brought back to their native land, who were still on board as it was intended to present them personally to the Emperor, and who, since the ship had been at anchor, had refused all service, a *great man* instantly summoned them before him, and reprimanded them very severely, representing to them their extreme ingratitude after having been fed and supported by the Russians, for so many years receiving kindnesses in every possible way, and at last being brought back to their native shore at so great an expence; adding, that, in behaving as they did, they brought shame upon the whole country.

Some light is thrown upon the commercial wishes of the Japanese, by the questions which they put to the Russian Embassy. These were, whether Russia could furnish Sugar, Rye, Skins, Medicines, "and many other articles;" expressing, at the same time, much curiosity as to the number of

ships, which might be annually sent to Nangasaki. From an occurrence which took place at this interview, it is evident also that optical instruments, from a pair of spectacles upwards, would soon become important objects of trade.

Langsdorff, in detailing these events, most pointedly alludes to the excessive closeness of the Japanese authorities, and the extreme circumspection with which every step, on their part, was taken. —Every thought, every question, every word, was weighed in the nicest manner, appearing to have some particular aim in view; and it seemed as if the least error would cost the life even of the persons highest in rank!

Happy will it be for Japan when the liberal ideas springing from an open commerce, and perhaps the gradual introduction of a liberal religion in the true spirit of the Gospel and equally removed from the bigotry that once made Christianity a bug-bear to the Japanese Government, as from that fanaticism which would pour out the mysteries of our faith upon the untutored savage, before he is enabled by an amended morality and judicious instruction to understand them—Happy will it be

for Japan when these blessings shall afford security and comfort to the lives of the millions who cover her fertile lands, wearing out an uncertain existence in slavery, sloth, and mendicity, and adding to their own political misery the idle fears and the burthensome oppression of demoralized superstition!

The work itself will demonstrate the correctness of this picture; to which we may add, from Langsdorff, in confirmation of the stupid slavery to which the Japanese are subjected, that the interpreters acknowledged that even the name of the reigning Emperor was always kept a profound secret, and that the people never knew, until his death, how their sovereign was called.

In such a country loyalty must be unknown, and it could not but fall an easy prey to any invader. This is a circumstance which ought not to be forgotten, by British Statesmen. Should Russia, or some of these busy spirits now in America, ever make the attempt, the result would scarcely be doubtful, at least so far as a complete revolution might be expected; and with such a people as the Japanese in the vicinity of our oriental empire,

consequences the most fatal might then be apprehended.

Langsdorff further describes the manners of the people of distinction, whom he saw, to be uniformly polite and courteous; and he adds, that, but for their language and costume, they might have been mistaken for the most polished Europeans. It appears also, that all parties, with whom they mixed, were anxious to acquire the Russian language, and offered, without scruple, to teach the Japanese to those who wished it. But it must not be forgotten, by those who may in future visit Japan, that politeness and courtesy, with not a small portion of plausible insincerity, are the weapons of attack and defence used by those people in diplomatic intercourse; and Langsdorff mentions some curious instances of the ingenious falsehoods in which they dressed up their precautions and even their insults, representing these actually as marks of distinction, for the purpose of procuring a ready acquiescence with orders dictated by tyrannical suspicion. Even their police guard-boats were described as a guard of honour! and an entrance into the harbour was refused, whilst the

Dutch ships lay there, on the pretence that it would be by no means shewing proper respect to an Imperial ship of war, with an ambassador on board, if it were permitted to anchor amongst merchant vessels. When they did enter the harbour, the ship was surrounded from morning till night with boats filled with visitors, or rather spectators; amongst whom, the fair sex greatly predominated. But all intercourse was still prevented; nay, though supplies of provisions were sent every day to the Russians, they were not permitted to purchase the most trifling article, not even a few tobacco-pipes, until an order should come from court for that purpose. In the enforcement, however, of this and many other regulations, the *great men* really seemed unwilling actors, and acknowledged themselves, on several occasions, to be under the greatest embarrassment, offering as an excuse the singular constitution of their country, and the unchangeable nature of their laws, which they dared not infringe either in letter or in spirit. Nay, some had the candour to own that all the strict regulations of the government were extremely ridiculous; one person, in particular, lamenting his

fate in being born a Japanese, regretting the short-sightedness of his countrymen, but imputing it to the education of the Emperor, and the great magistrates; adding, that the subjects must be blind when the rulers had no clear ideas, and were not in a situation to acquire any.

It appears that the same difficulties occurred respecting ceremonials, as in our own Chinese embassies, with an equal quantity of chicanery and regulated insult. Langsdorff's details of these are highly amusing, and their perusal will be useful to future speculators, but to notice them would far exceed our limits; yet it must not be omitted, that when at length an answer arrived from the Japanese Emperor, this curious State Paper candidly avowed that the restrictions on foreign intercourse arose from the injunctions of an Emperor one hundred-and-fifty years previous, and that, although since that period several foreign nations had at various times endeavoured to establish an intercourse of friendship and commerce with Japan, these offers had been invariably repulsed, not only in consequence of the long established prohibition, but also because it was considered dange-

rous to form ties of friendship with unknown foreign powers, which could not be founded on equality. The refusal of receiving the Russian presents was explained, upon the principle that if they were accepted, then the Japanese Emperor, according to custom, which was their law, would be obliged to send back presents of equal value under the care of an ambassador; and that there is a strict prohibition against either the inhabitants or the ships quitting the country; besides which, Japan was stated to be so poor, that it was impossible to return presents to any thing like an equivalent. The reception of the ambassador was refused upon the same pretences.

It is also of importance to mark the commercial or rather anti-commercial reasoning contained in this document, which stated that Japan has no great wants, and therefore, has little occasion for foreign productions; that her few real wants, as well as those she has contracted by custom, are readily supplied by the Dutch and Chinese, and luxuries are things which she does not wish to see introduced; that it would be, besides, very difficult to establish an extensive trade, since that

must, almost of necessity, occasion frequent intercourse between the common people and the foreign sailors, a thing strictly prohibited by the Japanese laws.

There is something so plausible in this reasoning, and it appears so well borne out by existing facts, particularly by the gradual decline of the Dutch trade with Japan, that, at first sight, it seems to neutralize all those hopes of British intercourse with that country already expressed. But, it must be considered that, although at first any possible commercial intercourse would be but trifling, yet, when we reflect on the difference of the British and Dutch commercial systems, both with respect to credit and to the supply of good articles on a liberal plan; on the superior enterprize of our speculators who look for extensive trade with small profits, whilst the Dutch always starve a market for the sake of large gains; and on the probable increasing annual demand, not only from these causes, but from the amelioration of Japanese manners and modes of thinking with respect to foreign nations that would result from such an intercourse as we only could agree to, or would

consent to practice, it is not too much to expect that a very few years would render Japan a most advantageous market. At present, the Japanese are too much under control to have any wishes beyond what their strict customs allow them; but a more liberal intercourse, with foreigners, would expand their minds; the sight of articles of British taste, ingenuity, and industry, would excite their wishes; to procure the mere necessaries of life would no longer be the bound of their desires; a new stimulus to industry would arise; their privileged mendicity would cease; wealth would spring from general exertion; and we should soon have more customers than we could well supply. Such are the reflections that result from Langsdorff's very useful and entertaining Journal.

When Batavia, and the whole island of Java fell into our possession, about 1813, a voyage, it appears, on the part of our own India Company, was actually performed. The whole particulars of that transaction would, no doubt, be highly interesting; but the only reference at present is to the Appendix of Sir T. S. Raffles' work, where an account current of the expences and returns,

including a statement of the nature of the Exports and Imports, is given at length in page xxxii. The whole outfit, cargo and charges, amounted to 298,150 Spanish Dollars; the returns in value (including incidentals) 342,126 Spanish Dollars: yielding a clear balance in favour of the voyage.

Alluding to the preceding opinion of the Select Committee, and to the attempt of 1813, Sir T. S. Raffles very pointedly observes, that the opinion itself appears to have been formed on a very partial view of the subject, and with reference to the limited nature of the trade as it then existed; but he adds, that it would be as unfair to judge of the value of the Japan trade to the British nation, from this narrow view, as it would be to decide upon that subject merely from the result of the voyage of 1813, and the other adventures to Japan, undertaken not as decided British attempts, but under the recent provisional Government of Batavia, which, besides other disadvantages, were for political reasons, carried on with a scrupulous regard to the restrictions under which the trade of the Dutch had latterly laboured.

Upon the whole, we have the reasoning of

Sir T. Raffles, generally speaking, in favour of a renewed intercourse with Japan; we cannot, however, so far infringe upon his very useful and amusing work as to detail all his arguments, or the beneficial results, both political and commercial, that he almost predicts from that renewal. It is sufficient, here, to allude to his general principles. Those who feel further interested may with great propriety, and with a certainty of satisfaction, consult the "Appendix B" page xv., and see also vol. 1. pp. 242--3.

We have now concluded our brief sketch of English commerce, with Japan, not without the hope that these Chronological Memoranda may stimulate to the judicious revival of a trade likely to become of vital importance to the British Empire.

MEMOIRS

OF A

CAPTIVITY IN JAPAN.

CHAPTER I.

In April, 1811, I had the command of the imperial sloop of war, *Diana*, which then lay at Kamtschatka,* where I received an order from the minister of the marine, directing me to survey, in the most minute manner, the Southern Kurile and Shantar Islands,† and the coast of Tartary, from latitude 53° 38′ north to Okotzk.

* In 1807, the *Diana* was, by a special order, dispatched under my command on a particular expedition from Cronstadt. The most important object of this expedition was to explore the coast of Eastern Russia, which is so imperfectly known to navigators. In 1809, the *Diana* arrived at Kamtschatka, and sailed in 1810 to the western coast of North America. I consider it necessary to give an account of these voyages in a separate publication, as a work chiefly composed of nautical and astronomical observations, and other details connected with navigation, could not be interesting to general readers, and would, indeed, be unintelligible to many. The present work is, however, suited to readers of every class, and on account of the novelty of the subject, equally worthy of the curiosity of all.

† The latter lie to the south of the main land of Siberia, opposite to the mouth of the river Ud. Respecting their discovery, see *Müller's Samml. Russ. Geschichte, 3r. band. s. 96.*

The minister's dispatch referred to two papers, containing a copious detail of the instructions I was to follow, which had been forwarded by the Board of Admiralty, at the same time as his order. These papers, however, I did not receive; and according to the arrangements of the post-office, they could not, as will appear from the following explanation, reach Kamtschatka before autumn. In the course of the winter, three posts are dispatched from Okotzk to Kamtschatka. The last which arrived at Petropaulowskoi (the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul) on the 20th of April, did not bring me the papers, and consequently they had not reached Okotzk when the post left that place. But as the post departs only once a month from St. Petersburgh for Okotzk, the papers, if brought there by the next arrival, would have to be sent off to me one month after the departure of the third post: this too would be precisely the time when the snow melts, the rivers overflow their banks, and a complete interruption of communication takes place in these countries. It was, besides, impossible, on the re-opening of the navigation, to send the papers by sea from Okotzk, as there was then no vessel in that harbour, all the transports having wintered in Kamtschatka. To obtain the papers in course of the summer, there remained then no other means except that of sailing myself with the sloop to Okotzk. The commander of that harbour, the captain of second

rank, Minitzky, had indeed advised me to come to Okotzk before the commencement of the expedition, as he, according to what he stated in his letter, presumed that the sloop must be in want of provisions and repairs, which could be obtained in that harbour. With respect to the latter, I observed no damage which I could not repair with my own people; but as to the provisions, there was really a considerable deficiency, compared with the established rate of supply. I took, therefore, from the transport *Dionysius,* which had wintered at Petropaulowskoi, what provisions remained on board that vessel; and I calculated that, with this addition to the stock of the *Diana,* I should be able to keep at sea three months, without incurring any risk of short allowance. I had thus no reason for going to Okotzk before the commencement of the expedition, except that of obtaining possession of the two papers with my instructions, which had been forwarded by the Admiralty. This was, doubtless, a motive of considerable weight: the pleasure of His Imperial Majesty had, however, been fully made known to me, by the order of the minister of the marine. I knew what coasts I had to explore, and that the result of my investigations ought to be detailed with the greatest accuracy; but in what particular manner, and to what degree of minuteness I was to execute the duty imposed on me, were circumstances respecting which the Admiralty dispatch would doubtless have served as

an explanation and a guide. Though that dispatch could be regarded only as a supplement to the order I had already received, the papers referred to might contain directions, the want of which would expose me to the risk of leaving considerable chasms in my survey, both on account of the insufficiency of my personal experience, and of my being necessarily destitute of the extensive information which the Admiralty department possessed respecting the seas I had to visit. I deeply regretted that I had not received those papers along with the minister's order, and foresaw all the difficulties which might arise from the want of them. On the other hand, however, I perceived that the result of any endeavour to obtain them now would only be loss of time, injury to the public service, and the absolute impossibility of accomplishing any thing which might compensate for so much expense and trouble. In a word, had I sailed to Okotzk, the summer, and consequently the whole year, must have elapsed, without the slightest advantage to the expedition. This opinion was grounded on the following considerations.

First—I reflected that, after calculating the season at which my passage to Okotzk would be practicable, I had to add to that period the necessary time for laying in provisions, fresh water, wood, &c. for a long voyage from Okotzk to the Kurile Islands: consequently, with the greatest exertions, and most favourable wind, I could not have reached

the place where my investigations were to commence until the month of July: the months of May and June would therefore have been completely lost.

Secondly—the state of the sloop, and in some measure that of the crew, rendered it absolutely necessary that we should pass the winter in a harbour, where the vessel might be cleansed and repaired; for, since my departure from Cronstadt, in the year 1807, no opportunity had occurred for taking out the ballast or stores, in order to see what repairs were requisite for the hull; and the ill-built store-houses of Petropaulowskoi are insufficient for the accommodation of the garrison, and there are no buildings for other purposes. Thus, unless we went into port, the stores of every kind must have remained another winter in the vessel, where swarms of rats already made the greatest havoc among the provisions, sails, woollen-cloth, casks, and every thing within their reach.

Besides, the men were in want of clothes: their shoes and stockings were completely worn out, and they required to be entirely new clothed, which could not possibly be done without going into Okotzk harbour. These circumstances required that I should winter in Okotzk, which it was necessary I should enter by the latter end of September, or at the latest the beginning of October. There remained therefore only three months for the duty I had to execute, and these were (with

the exception of July) the most unfavourable for the expedition.

All navigators who have sailed in the seas I had to traverse complain of the cloudy weather and excessively thick fogs, which prevented them from approaching the coasts, and consequently from making any observations upon them. In the foregoing year, when I returned from America to Kamtschatka along the chain of the Kurile Islands, I was convinced by experience of the truth of this complaint. Besides the continual mists that arise from the water, and totally conceal the coasts and islands, navigators have to encounter other difficulties of a still greater and more dangerous description: the currents met with among the Aleute and Kurile Islands run with extraordinary violence, and the depth of water, even in the neighbourhood of these islands, is so great, that at a distance of only three miles from land no bottom can be found, after sounding with a line of one hundred and fifty or two hundred fathoms. In these seas, therefore, no reliance can be placed on the lead, which in general affords a certain indication of the proximity of land. I was perfectly aware of all these circumstances, and was consequently impressed with the necessity of chusing the most favourable time for the execution of my enterprise. For this purpose I perused the published accounts of the voyages of the most celebrated navigators, who have visited the quarter to which I was about to

proceed, and from that perusal I collected the following information.

On the 9th of October, 1779 (N. S.), the English ships *Resolution* and *Discovery*, which, after the death of Captains Cook and Clerk, were commanded by Captain Gore, sailed from the Bay of Awatska, with the view, in addition to the discoveries which were the object of their voyage, to explore the chain of the Kurile Islands. They, however, succeeded in seeing only the first and second islands, namely, Shoomska and Paramoussier; a violent westerly wind having prevented them from approaching the others, notwithstanding their most strenuous endeavours. The first land they had sight of, after these two islands, was the eastern coast of Japan, latitude 40° 05′, which they descried on the 26th of October.

Captain Gore did not, however, relinquish his plan of visiting the southern Kurile Islands, but violent storms prevented him from putting his design into execution. He left the Bay of Awatska in the end of September (N. S.). Hence I inferred that the months of September and October are by no means favourable for nautical observations on the Kurile Islands.

In the middle of August, 1787, La Perouse sailed between the Peninsula of Sagaleen and the Island of Matsmai, through the strait which has since borne his name. Between Cape Aniwa and Cape Trou, on the Island of Staaten-

land,* which he descried on the 19th of August, he saw no other islands except the Company's-land† and Mareekan‡, between which he sailed. This strait he named *La Boussole*, after his own frigate. But the continued thick fogs prevented him from making further observations on the Kurile Islands, and he was compelled to abandon his design, and to direct his course to Kamtschatka, which he did on the 1st of September (O. S.).

Captain Sarytscheff,§ in his account of his voyage to the north-eastern parts of Siberia, on the Frozen and the Eastern Oceans, says that he sailed from the Bay of Awatska on the 6th of August, (O. S.) 1792, for the purpose of visiting the Corean Sea. He steered S. W. along the Kurile Islands, but owing to the thick fogs he did not discover land until the 20th. In latitude 47° 28′, he perceived what he supposed to be the Island of Mareekan, and some others, but thick mists prevented him from observing them closely; and he was ultimately obliged to give up his design, and to return to Okotzk. On his return he perceived the seventh island, and the peak of the twelfth, and further on, the southern coast of the second island, and the summits of the three volcanoes on the fifth; but they were almost constantly enveloped in

* Eetooroop, or Eetoorpoo; the nineteenth Kurile Island.

† Ooroop; the eighteenth Kurile Island.

‡ Seemoossier; the sixteenth Kurile Island.

§ Now Vice-Admiral.

mist, and he was consequently unable to fix their geographical situations.

In the year 1796, the English Captain, Broughton, quitted Vulcan's Bay, on the southern side of Matsmai, and sailed along the eastern coast of the same island; he then passed between Kunashier and Eetooroop, the former of which he conceived to be a portion of Matsmai. He continued his course along the north-western coast of the Island Eetooroop (Staatenland), but of which he merely saw the first half, and the north-east extremity, without being aware that these were parts of one and the same island. He then sailed along the western coast of Horoop (Company's-land) and Seemoossier (Mareekan), and reached the Island Ketoi. Thence he returned along the southern coasts of Ooroop, Eetooroop, and Kunashire, without being able to make any observations, though he anxiously wished to ascertain correctly the situation of islands as yet so imperfectly known. Fogs, violent winds and weather, upon the whole very unfavourable, prevented him from carrying his design into execution. Capt. Broughton's cruise, among the southern Kurile Islands, took place in the month of October.

Captain Krusenstern, who, in the year 1805, returned to Kamtschatka from Japan, was among the Kurile Islands during the latter end of May and beginning of June. On his passage to the Peninsula of Sagaleen, he also sailed through these islands in the early part of July, and again, on his

return, in the end of August (N. S.). This I learned from his atlas, which I obtained, along with some other charts, from the under-pilot Kuritzyn, who had commanded a vessel belonging to our American Company; but not having read the second part of Captain Krusenstern's Voyage, I had no knowledge of the weather he had experienced among these Islands.

In addition to the information thus obtained from the above celebrated navigators, who served me as a council on the subject of my enterprise, I endeavoured also to discover persons in Kamtschatka, who had made voyages to the islands I was directed to examine, and questioned them with the greatest strictness on every point of importance. But what sort of information could I derive from men so ignorant in navigation, and, above all, so limited in their excursions, as the popes and pelt-hunters of Kamtschatka, who merely go to the nearest inhabited Kurile Island with the officers who collect the yassak (or tribute). They only knew that there were some bright days in summer, but how often and how long they continued, and particularly in what places they experienced that favourable weather, were circumstances of which they could give no account. It was merely during the passage and in the straits that they paid any attention to the changes of the wind: when once on the Kurile Islands, they cared little for the state of the atmosphere, or any

meteorological phenomena. To make booty and collect the yassak were their sole objects. An under-pilot, named Andrejeu, a man whose knowledge in his profession was not altogether despicable, and who had been at the Kurile Islands with Lieutenant Chwostoff, on board one of the company's vessels, during the beginning of June, assured me that the weather was then favourable. In the preceding year, I had sailed from Kamtschatka to America in June, and returned in August and September. At both periods we had rough and hazy weather, and the horizon was constantly covered with heavy clouds. All, therefore, that has been stated respecting the weather in the Eastern Ocean, convinced me that fogs might be considered as proper to that sea, that they prevail there in all months without exception, though in some more frequently than in others, and that there was in no season good and clear weather for more than a week together. I perceived also that to survey so extensive a chain of islands and coast as was prescribed to me, would require an entire summer, from the beginning of May until October. Besides, it would be necessary to keep the land at all times as hard on board as possible, in order, as soon as the fog dispersed, to approach the coast more closely. It might therefore happen that a full investigation could not be completed in three years. On all these grounds and considerations, I felt convinced

that it was necessary to proceed as speedily as possible to the execution of my mission.

I will now briefly state the plan I intended to follow. I resolved to sail direct from Kamtschatka to the Strait of Nadeschda, between the Islands Matua and Rashaua, and to regulate my chronometer according to their situation,* in case I should find no opportunity for lunar observations. I then proposed to steer along the southern coasts of the Kurile Islands, and to commence my observations with the Island of Ketoi, which had not been seen by the Nadeschda, and so on with every island in succession until I arrived at Matsmai; next to sail between the Islands Eetooroop and Matsmai; and to explore the whole northern coasts of the latter, until I should reach La Perouse's Straits; thence, keeping the Peninsula of Sagaleen in view, to steer to the spot (53° 38′ latitude) whence my investigation of the Tartar coast was to commence; with which, as well as my observations on the Shantar Islands, I hoped to be ready towards the latter end of the summer.

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* Captain Krusenstern had a close view of these islands, and gave the name of Sarytscheff's Peak to the volcano on the Island of Matua. I therefore concluded that he had fixed their geographical situation with the utmost accuracy. By calculating their longitude also, according to our chronometer, we could, on obtaining his work, in case we should have made no lunar observations, ascertain the difference of our reckoning.

Having thus determined on my plan, I immediately set about preparing every thing for my departure. I opened for myself a passage through the ice, and on the 25th of April got the sloop out from Petropaulowskoi to Awatscha Bay. On the 4th of May we weighed anchor and put to sea.

On the 14th of May I reached Nadeschda Strait, the place, whence, according to the plan I had laid down, I was to commence my observations. I will not here detain the reader by giving an account of my cruize among the Kurile Islands, or the nature of my investigation, as I have devoted a particular work to that object.

It is sufficient to say, that previous to the 17th of June, the first day of our accidental communication with the Japanese, notwithstanding the impediments of thick fogs and violent irregular currents, we succeeded in making observations on the following islands: the 13th Rashaua,* the 14th Oosheessier,† the 15th Ketoi,‡ the 16th Seemoossier, or Mareekan, the 17th the two Tschirpoi and Macantar, and the western coast of the 18th Ooroop.

I think it proper, however, before I proceed to describe the treatment we received from the Japanese, and the unfortunate occurrences which

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*On Captain Krusenstern's chart these islands are improperly named.—This is called Matua.

† Called Raschaua. ‡ Called Oosheessier.

ensued, to state all I then knew respecting the political relations between Russia and Japan.

About thirty years ago, a Japanese merchantman was wrecked on the Aleute Island Amtshitka. The crew of the vessel, and the commander, whose name was Rodai, were saved, and taken to Irkutzk, where these unfortunate Japanese lived about ten years. At the end of that period, the Empress Catharine gave orders that they should be conveyed back to their native country; and that advantage should be taken of that opportunity to ascertain whether some commercial relations, beneficial to both countries, might not be established between Russia and Japan. The orders received on this occasion by General Phil, Governor in Chief of Siberia, are worthy of particular attention. He was expressly instructed to send as envoy to Japan a person of rather inferior rank, bearing presents in his own (General Phil's) name, as governor of a frontier province, but by no means in the name of the Empress; it was further ordered that the commander of the vessel employed on this occasion should neither be a native of England nor Holland. In obedience to these instructions, Governor Phil appointed Lieutenant Laxman envoy, who embarked on board the transport Catharina, commanded by the pilot Lowzoff, and sailed in the autumn of 1792, from Okotzk to Japan. Laxman landed on the northern coast of the Island of Matsmai, and

passed the winter in the little harbour of Nemuro. In the following summer, in conformity with the desire of the Japanese, he entered Chakodade harbour, which is situated on the southern coast of Matsmai, near the Straits of Sangar, from whence he travelled by land to Matsmai, which is three day's journey to the west of Chakodade. Here he entered into negociations with officers sent from the capital, in consequence of which the Japanese government issued a declaration to the following effect :—

1st. Although the Japanese laws ordain that all foreigners who may land upon any part of the coasts of Japan, the Harbour of Nangasaky excepted, shall be seized and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, the penalties inflicted by the said laws shall not be enforced against the Russians in the present instance, as they were ignorant of the existence of such statutes, and have brought with them Japanese subjects whom they had saved on their own coasts; and they shall be permitted, without let or molestation, to return immediately to their native country, on this condition, however, that they never again approach any part of Japan, except Nangasaky, even though Japanese subjects should be driven on the coast of Russia, otherwise the law shall be executed in its fullest force.

2nd. The Japanese government returns thanks for the conveyance of its subjects to their native country; but at the same time informs the Russians

that they may either leave them, or take them back again, as they shall think fit; for, according to the Japanese laws, such persons cannot be forcibly detained, since those laws declare that men belong to that country on which their destiny may cast them, and in which their lives have been protected.

3d. With regard to negociations for commercial arrangements, the Japanese can admit of no relations of that sort any where except in the harbour of Nangasaky; for that reason they gave Laxman for the present merely a written certificate, on producing which a Russian vessel might enter that harbour, where would be found Japanese officers furnished with full powers to treat further with the Russians on this matter.

Having received this declaration, Laxman returned to Okotzk in the autumn of 1793. From his account it appears that the Japanese treated the Russians with the greatest civility and courtesy, shewed them every mark of honour in a way conformable to the customs of their country, maintained at their own expense the officers and crew during the whole time they remained on the Japanese coasts, provided them at their departure with provisions, for which they refused to accept of any payment, and made them various presents. He only regretted that, owing to the strict execution of the laws, the Japanese would never permit them to go freely about the town, but kept a constant

watch upon them. I cannot divine why the Empress did not, immediately on Laxman's return, dispatch a vessel to Nangasaky: probably the commencement of the French Revolution, which, at that period, disturbed the peace of Europe, occasioned her to neglect this opportunity.

In the year 1803 the Chamberlain Resanoff was sent to Japan by the present reigning monarch. The public have learned the details of that expedition from Captain Krusenstern's narrative; from which I also collected my information on the same subject, having, as I have already observed, read the first volume before my departure from Kamtschatka. I therefore knew that, in the declaration which the Japanese government communicated to Resanoff, it was notified that no Russian ship would be permitted to approach the coasts of Japan; and that in case the subjects of that country were driven by storms on the coasts of Russia, they were to be conveyed home in Dutch and not in Russian vessels. On his return to Kamtschatka, Resanoff sailed to America in one of the American Company's ships, commanded by Lieutenant Chwostoff. He returned to Okotzk with the same officer, and was travelling through Siberia on his way to St. Petersburgh, when he fell ill and died. Chwostoff, however, put to sea again, and attacked the Japanese villages on the Kurile Islands. Further information on this subject may be found in Vice-Admiral Schiskkoff's preface to the voyages of

Chwostoff and Davydoff. Were Resanoff and Chwostoff still living, we should probably have ample explanations respecting the proceedings of the latter; but as it is, we ought, in obedience to the old rule, to say nothing but good of the dead! I must observe, however, that I have been informed our government was dissatisfied with the conduct of this officer.

Having received orders to visit the Southern Kurile Islands, and being aware that some of them were in the possession of the Japanese, I endeavoured to collect all the information in my power respecting Chwostoff's proceedings in those seas. For this purpose I examined a pilot who had accompanied him on his cruize; and I was convinced, by that man's declaration, that the two attacks on the Japanese were unwarrantable, arbitrary acts; and that they had not the slightest ground for supposing the hostilities of two insignificant vessels authorised by the sovereign of a country, the power and greatness of which must have been known to them from the descriptions of their countrymen, who had lived many years in Russia. The account given by this pilot fully corresponded with what I had heard when I first arrived at Kamtschatka, from an officer of the company, named Massnikoff, who had been attached to Chwostoff's expedition. But notwithstanding the opinion I had thus formed, I resolved, unless superior orders should otherwise direct, to hold no intercourse with the Japanese.

My determination was to sail without any flag in the neighbourhood of the islands belonging to them, in order to avoid exciting either fear or doubt in the minds of this distrustful people. But Providence was pleased to ordain otherwise, and probably for the better.

Such, as far as I have above explained, was the state of the relations between Russia and Japan, at the time when the duty I had to perform required me to approach the coasts of those islands which are under the dominion of the Japanese. And I now proceed to the most important part of my Narrative.

On the afternoon of the 17th of June we found ourselves very near the western coast of the northern extremity of the Island of Eetoorpoo, though we were not immediately aware that the land we saw formed a part of that island. On the contrary, that extremity appeared to us like a separate island; for the Bay of Sana, which extends very far in-land, resembles a channel; and on Captain Broughton's chart this part of the coast is not defined, he not being certain whether the opening formed a strait or a bay. In order to remove all doubt, we approached within three Italian miles of the land. We soon descried several huts, and two large baidares, in which were several persons sailing to and from the shore. Under the supposition that the island was peopled by Kuriles, I dispatched Midshipman Moor, accompanied by the under-pilot

Nawitzky, in an armed boat of four oars, in order to make observations on the island, and whatever they could discover. I soon observed a baidare sailing towards them from the shore; and not knowing what kind of reception they might meet with from the natives, I immediately ran the sloop close in the shore, and, along with a midshipman named Jakuschkin, got on board another armed boat, of four oars also, to hasten to their assistance. In the meanwhile the baidare had come up to our first boat, and having put about, they both rowed towards the shore, which I likewise reached in a short time after them.

On stepping ashore, I beheld to my astonishment that Mr. Moor was engaged in conversation with some Japanese. He informed me that some of our Kuriles, belonging to the thirteenth island (Raschaua), who had been driven here by storms in the preceding summer, were still on this island; and that the Japanese having kept them prisoners for about a year, had at length resolved to liberate them, and send them home. These Kuriles had been sent out by the Japanese to meet the boat, to enquire what induced us to approach their coasts, and likewise state to him that the Japanese were apprehensive of our designs, and to entreat that we would not set foot on shore. I was exceedingly astonished at hearing this; and asked Moor, with great dissatisfaction, how he, after the Kuriles had stated this to him, could dare, of his own accord,

and without any order from me, to go on shore with a handful of men among a people so hostile to us, and why he had not immediately turned back and communicated to me what the Kuriles had said to him. He justified himself by saying he was fearful I might have ascribed such conduct to cowardice, and have sent another officer to the island in his stead; adding, that such a disgrace would have been irretrievable, and would have rendered his life a burden to him. Though this reason was far from being valid, yet I was convinced that the rash conduct of this officer arose solely from want of reflection; and I did not say another word to him on the subject. Mr. Moor pointed out to me the Japanese commander, who was standing on the shore, at some distance from his tent. He was surrounded by about eighteen or twenty men, in full military dress, and armed with guns and sabres. Each of these men held the butt ends of their muskets with the left hand, but without any kind of regularity: in the right they held two small lighted matches. I saluted the commander, after the manner of my own country, with a bow, which he returned, by raising his right hand to his forehead, and bending his whole body towards me. We conversed by means of two interpreters, namely, one of his soldiers, who understood the Kurile language, and one of our Kuriles, who could speak a little Russian. The Japanese chief began by asking—"For what reason we had come among them?—If with a view

to trade, with no base designs upon them,* we might sail further along the coast, until we got behind the volcano, where Oorbeetsh, the most productive part of the island, was situated." I replied, "That we wished to find a safe harbour for our ship, where we might procure a supply of wood and water, of which we were greatly in want; that upon this being obtained we would immediately leave their coasts;† that they had besides nothing to fear from us, as our sloop was an Imperial ship, and not a merchantman; and that, in fact, we had not visited their islands with the intention of doing them any injury whatever." Having listened attentively to my explanation, he said—"The Japanese cannot be entirely tranquil and free from apprehension on the appearance of a Russian ship, for some years ago Russian vessels twice attacked the Japanese villages, and carried off or burnt every

* Our interpreter expressed the question thus—Are you come in bad or in good understanding to us?

† I put this forward as the main reason of our coming there, in order that, under the pretence of seeking an anchoring place, we might sail round the whole island, and examine the coast with the greatest possible attention. The real motive of our visit could, however, on no account be disclosed. It would have been impossible to have made such a people as the Japanese comprehend how a state completely foreign to them could be induced, by mere curiosity, and without having some secret design in view, to fit out ships to explore distant countries; and the avowal of such an object would certainly have still further exposed us to their suspicion.

thing they found, without sparing the houses, temples, or provisions. Rice, which is brought from Japan to these islands, forms the principal food for the inhabitants: but the first attack having taken place late in autumn, when no vessels could be sent to sea to bring back a fresh supply for winter, and the second having followed early in spring, before the usual rice ships could arrive, these circumstances, joined to the destruction of their houses, caused great distress to the Japanese, many of whom fell sacrifices to hunger and cold." With such awkward interpreters as our Kuriles were, it was not an easy matter to vindicate ourselves against so serious a charge. I studied, however, to render my ideas quite intelligible to them, and begged that they would endeavour to re-state what I said with the greatest exactness. I then asked the Japanese commander, what number of ships and men his sovereign would send out against a people on whom he wished to make war.— He answered that he did not know.— "Would he send five or ten?" said I.—"No, no," replied he, laughing, "he would fit out a great number, a very great number." Upon receiving this answer, I said, "How then can the Japanese believe that the Emperor of Russia, the sovereign of so great and powerful a nation, would send only two small vessels to carry on war against the Japanese? This consideration ought to be sufficient to convince them that the vessels which attacked them were mere merchant-

men, the crews of which were not in the service of the Emperor of Russia, but of men whose only object was trade and pelt-hunting. The Japanese had been attacked and plundered without the authority, and without the knowledge of even the lowest Russian officer, but as soon as the offence became known, the affair was investigated, and the offenders punished conformably to our laws. As a proof that the Russian government had entertained no hostile intention, it was sufficient to mention, that after two successful attacks had been made, no ship had, for the space of five years, returned to these islands. Had, however, our monarch any reason or wish to make war on the Japanese, he would send every year large squadrons against them, until the object he had in view should be accomplished."

The Japanese chief, whose countenance now brightened up, assured me that he was glad to hear this from me; that he believed all I had stated, and was satisfied. He asked, however, where the two men were whom Chwostoff had carried off with him. I told him they had fled from Okotzk in a boat, and had not since been heard of.—Finally, he informed us that we could neither get wood nor good water at that part of the island (which we saw evidently enough), but that at Oorbeetsh, to the commander of which he would give me a letter, we might be supplied not only with wood and water, but also might procure rice and other provisions. Having returned thanks, I gave him and

the other officers some presents, consisting of various European articles. He, in his turn, presented us with fresh fish, saranna,* wild garlic, and a flask of sagi,† a Japanese beverage. He also treated us with this liquor, having first drank of it himself. Not to be behind-hand with him, I made him and his officers partake of some French brandy, after I had, according to the Japanese custom, first tasted it myself, to prove that I did not mean to give them any thing injurious. They all smacked their lips, and appeared exceedingly well pleased with the brandy, of which, however, they drank but little. Each, on receiving from me the cup out of which they drank, made a slight motion with the head, and lifted the left hand to the forehead. I took a match from one of them, to examine it; in returning it, I made it be understood, by signs, that I wished to cut off a piece, upon which they handed me a whole bundle.

I signified to the chief that I wished to see their tent, and he immediately conducted me to it. I found it very long, and covered with mats made of grass and straw. It was divided cross-ways into several apartments, each of which had a separate

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* The bread-fruit of the Kamtschatdales *(lilium bulbiferum.)*

† This liquor is prepared from rice. The colour is white, and the taste is not unpleasant. It is far from being strong; and yet, when a considerable quantity is drunk, it will intoxicate men who have been accustomed to very strong liquors.

entrance from the south side. The light entered by the doors, for there were no windows. The apartment of the commander was in the eastern end. The floor was covered with very clean mats, on which we sat down, with our legs crossed under us. A large pan, with fire, was placed in the middle of the apartment; and a chest covered with a bear's-skin, the rough side of which was outward, was brought in. The chief of the Japanese having now laid aside both his sabres, and unbound his girdle, I perceived that he was disposed to entertain us in a regular manner. It was, however, dark, and the sloop was too near the land. I thanked him for his friendly reception, informed him I could not stop then, but would visit him another time, and left the tent to go on board the sloop.

Whilst I was conversing with the chief on the shore, an old man advanced towards me with demonstrations of the greatest respect: he was a Toion, or chief of the hairy Kuriles of this part of the island, of whom there were here about fifty individuals of both sexes; and they seemed to be so oppressed by the Japanese that they dared not move in their presence. They all sat crowded together, regarding their rulers with looks of terror; and whenever they had occasion to speak to them, they threw themselves upon their knees, with their open hands pressed closely upon their loins, their heads hanging downwards, and their whole bodies

bent towards the ground. Our Kuriles observed the same ceremony when they addressed themselves to us. In order to converse with them more fully, and without interruption, I invited them to come on board our vessel, if they could gain permission to do so. I at the same time desired them to assure the Japanese of our friendly disposition towards them, and that we entertained no intention of doing them harm. Our Kuriles repeated my words, though I cannot of course be responsible for their accuracy of the translation; but the answer received amounted to this, that the Japanese were afraid of us, and that instead of believing that we had come to visit them with good intentions, they were convinced that we were disposed to do as much mischief as the Company's ships had formerly done. I was anxious to obtain further information on this subject, and I requested the Kuriles to endeavour to make themselves acquainted with the real sentiments which the Japanese entertained respecting us, and then to come on board our vessel.

At seven in the evening we returned to our sloop; and the Kuriles arrived about an hour afterwards. Their party consisted of two men, two women, and a little girl, apparently four years old. The men spoke the Russian language so well, that we could understand each other without much difficulty. They brought along with them the letter from the Japanese chief to the commander at Oor-

beetsh, which they assured us would sufficiently inform him of our pacific intentions; they likewise told us that as soon as we quitted the village, the Japanese dispatched a baidare with a similar intimation to Oorbeetsh: this we had ourselves observed. The letter was written on thick white paper, folded up in an envelope of about six inches and a half in length, and two and a quarter in breadth: this envelope was so formed that a piece of the paper, of a triangular shape, was left to fold down on one side, to which it closely adhered; the remaining part, or superior angle of this piece of paper, which was half an inch long, was folded down on the other side, to which it was also firmly attached, and was impressed with a stamp in black ink. The address was written on both sides.

Our Kuriles now informed us that the Japanese persisted in believing that plunder was the only motive which had induced us to visit their shores; and that the conduct of the crews of the Company's ships had excited their suspicions. Whenever they spoke of the violent proceedings of Chwostoff, they usually said: "The Russians attacked us without cause, killed many of our countrymen, took several prisoners, plundered us, and burnt all we possessed; they not only carried off our goods, but likewise all our rice and sagi, and abandoned us to all the misery of hunger." Governed by this feeling, the Japanese were, as the Kuriles informed us, convinced that we in-

tended to commit some outrage on them; and had, some time before, removed all their property to the interior of the island. This vexed us exceedingly. The Japanese had, indeed, ample cause to suspect our designs, as they did not know the difference between a man-of-war and a merchant vessel.

Before our departure from Kamtschatka, we foresaw, and frequently regretted, that the Japanese would inevitably blame the whole Russian nation for the unjust proceeding of Chwostoff; for they possessed no means of making their complaints known to our government, and thereby discovering the guilty, and bringing them to punishment. The Kuriles, however, consoled us, with the assurance that ill-will towards the Russians was by no means general among the Japanese, and that the apprehensions of the chief and his companions, with whom we had discoursed, were to be attributed solely to their excessive cowardice.

These Kuriles also related to us their own adventures: they told us that in the preceding summer they had been driven by storms to that part of Japan. The Japanese immediately seized them, and threw them into prison: they asked them various questions concerning the attack of the Russian ships, to which they replied: that the Kuriles had no participation in the proceedings of the Russians, and that they had besides heard at Kamtschatka that the commanders of those vessels

were pelt-hunters, and not imperial officers. The outrage was therefore to be attributed solely to them, and that the Isprawnik (district commander*) had deposited the Japanese goods in the imperial balagan (warehouse,) and had placed the officers themselves under confinement. The Kuriles added, that on receiving this intimation, the Japanese were induced to think more favourably of them: they treated them with kindness, and at length gave orders for their liberation, having previously furnished them with rice, sagi, tobacco, clothes, and other articles. Finally, they expected to sail to their native country with the first favourable wind. Two glasses of brandy, with which I regaled each of the Kuriles, seemed to inspire them with confidence, and they frequently mentioned, among other things, that they were in want of gunpowder to shoot with during the winter season, and that the Japanese had provided them with every thing excepting powder. They mentioned this want of gunpowder so repeatedly, that I was convinced they were desirous of obtaining some from me, although they did not presume to ask it directly; and being confident that they wanted it only for hunting, I presented them with half a pound of fine English powder, some tobacco, glass beads and small

* These people, from the manner in which they talked, must have imagined that the Isprawnik was one of the chief officers of state in Russia.

ear-rings. It was now getting late, and I was compelled to break off my conversation with them; and after I had again requested that they would exert their endeavours to convince the Japanese of our peaceable and friendly intentions, they took leave of us about ten o'clock. Whilst these Kuriles were on board our ship, I sent Midshipman Filatoff ashore, to exchange some leaf-tobacco with the hairy Kuriles for wild garlic and saranna. He soon returned, bringing along with him a considerable quantity, which I ordered to be reserved for such of our crew as were sick.

Not the slightest breeze blew during the whole night of the 18th of June, and we were consequently unable to quit the coast. Early in the morning we observed a baidare, with a flag, sailing towards our sloop: we concluded that the Japanese were about to pay us a visit, and proceeded to make preparations for their reception. To shew that we expected them, I ordered the sails to be furled, though this was unnecessary, on account of the calm that prevailed. Towards eight o'clock the baidare had approached very near us: that which we supposed to be a flag, we now discovered was a white mat, and we recognized in the boat our friends the Kuriles who had visited us on the preceding evening. They were accompanied by a young man named Alexei Maximovitsch. The men wore long full Japanese gowns, with short wide sleeves, and made of thick cotton stuff of a blue colour,

striped with green. The women wore parkis, made of the skins of birds with the feathers outward; and, by way of ornament, several rows of sea-parrots' beaks strung together were suspended from the back part of their shoulders: they had thick cotton handkerchiefs rolled round their heads, whilst the men on the contrary were bare-headed. They all wore torbasses, or boots, such as are worn by the Russian peasantry, made of sea-lion skin. The Essaul came on board bare-footed; but before he either bowed or offered to address us, he drew on his boots; he then advanced, observing towards us the same ceremonies with which he had been accustomed to salute the Japanese. He appeared to be about fifty years of age, and extremely feeble. His little daughter was all the time on his back, wrapped in his cloak, and secured therein by a rope, which came round in front of his breast. By way of relief, however, from the embarrassment which this fastening occasioned, or when he resolved to move his arms with greater freedom, he lifted the rope to his forehead. On this account sometimes a broad strap was sewed to that part of the rope which touched the forehead. The men had stiff jet black hair and beards: their hair was cut in the same way as that of the Russian carters. They had no artificial ornament either on the face or on any other part of the body; the women, however, had a blue line drawn round their lips, from one-fifth to a quarter of an inch in thickness, and

their hands were painted with the same colour. They brought us presents, consisting of about eighty poods of salmon-trout and stock-fish, some saranna, and wild garlic. The fish I distributed among the crew, and the saranna and garlic were laid by for the sick.

Our first question related to the Japanese soldiers. I was informed that the chief, in consequence of having partaken too freely of the bottle of brandy which I presented to him, had slept soundly the whole of the preceding evening and night; the others, on the contrary, had been under arms the whole time. Nothing could overcome the suspicions they entertained of us; and they threatened, in case we should attack them, to behead the Kuriles, whom they regarded as Russian subjects: for this reason they had watched them closely the whole of the night, and had detained some of their companions as hostages. The Japanese themselves had now sent them to enquire more particularly respecting our motives in visiting them. On this occasion the Kuriles contradicted what they had formerly told us; for, according to the account they now gave, instead of having been driven by storms to the coast of Japan, they had sailed thither for the purpose of trading, which they were permitted to do: the Japanese, however, in consequence of the outrages committed by the Russians, had seized them, as they before informed us, and had thrown them into prison. Having at

length determined on liberating them, they furnished them with twenty bags of rice, sagi, and tobacco, for their voyage. Previously to our arrival they had been detained by adverse winds; and the Japanese now threatened to imprison them again, and make their heads answer for our misconduct. Their party at first consisted of seven men, six women, and two children; but of these, three men and three women had perished during their imprisonment in a small confined apartment. They did not know the Russian name of the disorder which had occasioned the death of their companions; but, from their description, it was probably scurvy, accompanied by great debility. They declared that the Japanese had constantly shewn the utmost care for their health, and had sent a physician to attend them. One of the Kuriles had been afflicted with a swelling in his hands and cramp in the feet, in consequence of which the calves of his legs were drawn upwards and backwards towards his thighs. Veins were immediately opened by the Japanese surgeons in both his feet, and some time after in both his hands. Owing to the want of suitable expressions, these men could neither describe how, nor with what kind of instruments, the operations had been performed. Their companion, however, recovered, and only regretted that, in consequence of his illness, his hands and feet had become considerably thinner than before. Our surgeon, M. Brandt, a man of very great expe-

rience in his profession, ascribed this last circumstance to some other cause.

Whilst relating what had occurred to them, the Kuriles frequently became confused, and contradicted each other; at length they all entreated that I would keep them on board my vessel, and land them on their own island (the thirteenth or Raschaua), whither they declared they had resolved on returning. I asked them what would become of their companions, the two women and the child, who would remain in the power of the Japanese; upon which they all remained silent; but shortly afterwards they renewed their solicitations, protesting that they believed the Japanese would put them to death when they went on shore. On the preceding evening they had not mentioned a syllable about their determination of returning to their own island; they merely regretted not having sufficient gunpowder to enable them to shoot on Ooroop. To say that bad weather prevented their departure was a palpable falsehood: they were not aware that we had been cruizing for some time in the neighbourhood of the island, and were consequently acquainted with the state of the weather. There had been no violent winds for a considerable time, and the fogs were by no means so thick as to render it impossible to proceed from one island to another, particularly from Eetooroop to Ooroop, which are scarcely twenty-five wersts distant from each other. They had, besides, no reason to fear

the fogs, since, as we observed, they had along with them a compass, which they seemed to value as dearly as their own eyes, for they would scarcely trust it out of their hands; and when they came on board the ship, they carried it along with them, being fearful of leaving it in the baidare.* From all they related, the greater part of which is not worth repeating, we were enabled to form an idea of their situation. It appeared that as soon as the Japanese suspected we entertained an intention of attacking their village, they threatened to punish the Kuriles for our acts, consequently these men had no less reason to fear us than the Japanese. For the sake of saving their heads they would willingly have remained with us, at the risk of sacrificing the two women and the child they had left on shore; they accordingly entreated us to keep them on board. I endeavoured to convince them that they had nothing to fear from the Japanese, against whom we entertained no hostile designs, and advised them to return to the island. I gave them four bottles of French brandy, as a present to

* This compass, which was fixed in a round case, was three inches in diameter. The card was divided into rhumbs, but without any degrees, and coloured. Instead of glass it was covered with the kind of mica called Muscovy glass. The compass, with its case, was further secured by being placed within a box with a sliding lid. They pretended that they had got it in Kamtschatka.

the Japanese commanding officer, who, as I had learned, was extremely fond of that liquor. When the Kuriles were about to take leave of us, I proposed that one of the party should remain on board our sloop, that he might assist us in coming to a safe anchoring place off Ooroop; and likewise serve as our interpreter, in case we should land at Oorbeetsh. On hearing this, they all offered to continue with us; this, however, could not be permitted; and it was agreed that Alexei should remain on board our sloop, and that the rest should return to the island. They were, however, fully convinced that we intended to attack the Japanese; and one of the party assured us cannon were planted at Oorbeetsh, which would be fired upon the first Russian vessel that came within sight of the island; but, a few moments after this, another of the Kuriles observed that there was only one piece of cannon on the island.

Towards noon the weather began to clear up, and a brisk south wind arose. I wished to take advantage of this gale for sailing towards the eastern coast of Ooroop; we therefore took leave of our guests, and steered under full sail in an easterly direction. We had not proceeded more than half a mile, or a werst, from the baidare, when we observed the Kuriles raising their hands, beckoning us to return, and heard them calling loudly after us. Can the baidare be sinking! thought I, and immediately gave orders for the sloop to lie to.

They then rowed up to us, and merely repeated their dread of being massacred by the Japanese in the event of our committing any outrage upon them. We again found it necessary to summon all our powers of persuasion for the purpose of convincing and consoling them; and they, at length, agreed to return to the island, though not without some degree of apprehension, for they could not entirely divest themselves of the notions they had formed. I was much moved, on thus parting, for a second time, with these poor creatures. They repeatedly bade us farewell from the baidare, and promised, if the Japanese did not kill them, to catch fish, and gather wild garlic and saranna for us against our return.

From Eetoorpoo we sailed towards the eastern coast of Ooroop, in inspecting which we spent three days. We then wished to sail back to Oorbeetsh, but contrary winds prevented us from passing through the Straits of De Fries: we therefore steered in a southerly direction, along the eastern coast of Eetoorpoo, for the purpose of making observations on that island likewise. Meanwhile certain circumstances tended to confirm our Kurile shipmate in the belief that we really entertained the design of attacking the Japanese. When the wind was calm, and the weather clear and dry, I ordered the crew to perform their exercise on deck, and to practise firing with ball. Our Kurile was unable to conceal his astonishment when he beheld the men

all under arms; some armed with blunderbusses, some with muskets, and others with pistols and pikes. We sought to persuade him that we ourselves had reason to apprehend an attack from the Japanese, and that we wished to hold ourselves in readiness for self-defence; but that if, on the contrary, they received us kindly, they need entertain no fear. He nodded his head as if he credited what we told him; but it was plain that, in his heart, he was far from being convinced of the truth of our statement. In the course of conversation, he would frequently disclose circumstances which he shewed a disposition to conceal when questioned directly concerning them. For instance, he at first declared his ignorance of the way in which the Kuriles trade with the Japanese; but some time after, whilst we were drinking tea, and discoursing on some other matters, he mentioned what the Japanese had given them in exchange for certain articles, without seeming to be aware that he was betraying what he before wished to keep a secret. I was well pleased to find that we could thus obtain from our guest all the information we desired, without either perplexing him or putting him in fear. The facts thus communicated, as it were, accidentally, and of his own free will, without any questions being directly addressed to him, were doubtless more to be relied on than any which we might have wrung from him by inquisitorial interrogatories; that, under such circumstances, a wild ignorant Kurile should have stated many untruths

would not have been surprising. Accordingly, whenever I entered into conversation with him, I usually began by talking about common affairs, with the view of bringing him by degrees to other subjects of discourse. In this way I learned from him that previous to the attack made by the Company's ships, the Kuriles had carried on a trade with the Japanese, as uninterrupted and regular as if it had been sanctioned by a duly ratified treaty. The Kuriles brought to Japan bears' and sea-dogs' skins, eagles' wings and tails, and fox skins; the latter, however, the Japanese seldom purchased, and never gave a high price for them: these articles they exchanged for rice, cotton manufactures, clothes (particularly night-dresses), tobacco-pipes, domestic utensils of varnished wood, and other things. The Japanese sell their rice in large and small bags. The large bag is equal to three small ones, and, according to our Kurile's account, is so heavy, that a man can scarcely lift it; it may, perhaps, contain about four poods. The barter was conducted according to a convention made by both parties, and without the least attempt at undue advantage on either side. The value of the merchandize scarcely ever varied; the Kuriles usually received from the Japanese:—

For the skin of a beaver which had attained its full growth, ten large bags of rice.*

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* Allowing that each bag contained only three poods, they received thirty poods of rice for one beaver-skin. At Kamtschatka

For a sea-dog's skin, seven small bags.

For ten eagles' tails, twenty small bags, or a silk dress.

For three eagles' tails, a cotton dress, lined with the same material, and wadded.

For ten eagles' wings, a bundle of leaf-tobacco, which the Kuriles are extremely fond of. They usually chew it. Some, however, take it like snuff, and others have learnt from the Japanese the custom of smoking with pipes, such as they use.

The Japanese give a high price for eagles' wings and tails, as they use the feathers for their arrows: they likewise set a high value on various European articles, which they purchase from the Kuriles at a very dear rate; such as yellow and red cloth, and cloth of other colours, glass wares, strings of amber and glass beads, boots, hardware, &c.

The yellow cloth is reserved for distinguished visitors: a piece of a suitable size is usually spread out where it is intended the guest shall seat himself. Cloths of other colours are made into wearing apparel. They ornament the seams of their boots with glass beads or pearls; but in other respects they wear them in the same way as we do.

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the American Company purchased, in our presence, the rice which had been brought from Japan, paying for it at the rate of sixteen roubles the pood: they did not, however, consider the beaver-skin to be worth more than fifty roubles. The Company would not have given the Kuriles more than three poods of rice for a beaver-skin.

Our guest, Alexei Maximovitsch, was no less communicative when our conversation happened to turn on the hunting trade, and how it enabled the Kuriles to gain a livelihood. He complained that the number of beavers was constantly diminishing; a circumstance which appeared extremely probable. These animals have indeed become exceedingly scarce, both on the Aleute Islands, and on those parts of the American coast which are visited by the Company's pelt-hunters. The indefatigable perseverance of their pursuers has made them shun the human race, and they have retired towards the south, into the channels between the numerous islands on the north-west coast of America. In the summer season, when the sea is calm, and the Kuriles can, without danger, sail from the coasts in their baidares, they shoot the beavers with arrows; but in the winter they either shoot them from the shore, or catch them in nets, which they spread between the stones on which these animals sometimes station themselves. They have three different methods of killing the dark-brown, grey, and red foxes. If they fall in with them accidentally, or in hunting, they shoot them in the usual way; but they also take them in the Kamtschatka manner, by traps (namely, by placing in a trap some bait, which is no sooner touched by the fox than an iron weapon descends and kills him), or ensnare them with sea-gulls. They fasten a sea-gull in a place where they observe traces of the fox, and lay down around the

gull snares formed of running loops; the hunter, in the meanwhile, remains on the watch to prevent the fox from knawing the snare asunder. Whenever the sea-gull begins to flap its wings, the fox darts upon his prey, and is caught in a noose.

The ice fox is never seen on the Kurile Islands, and the inhabitants do not even know such an animal by name. When shown their skins at Kamtschatka they called them white foxes. They shoot sea-lions and sea-dogs; and catch eagles with sea-gulls, though not in the same way as they ensnare the foxes. They build a little shed, with an aperture at the top, and in the interior fasten a sea-gull; in a short time the eagle darts upon his prey, seizes it with his claws, and whilst he is endeavouring to carry it off or devour it, he is killed by the Kuriles. It is only during the winter that the eagle inhabits the Kurile Islands: on the approach of summer these birds of prey take flight to Kamtschatka, where they are then found in great numbers, because the streams which flow through that peninsula supply them with abundance of food. The Kuriles hunt sea-otters, sea-lions, sea-dogs, and foxes, only for the sake of trade: to supply their domestic wants they catch different sorts of sea-fowl, such as geese, various kinds of ducks, &c., and likewise fish, which are, however, by no means very plentiful in the Kurile Islands belonging to the Russians. On the coasts of the thirteenth and fourteenth islands, namely, Raschaua and Oosheessier, a fish is found

which the inhabitants call seer-bok: in size it resembles the gorbusha (a kind of salmon), and is of a red colour. They are caught between the stones with hooks. The Kuriles seldom go out to kill ducks and geese, as too great a quantity of powder and shot is expended on these birds.* They catch in the nest, and with their hands, sea-parrots, storm-finches, and another kind of bird, which in their language is called *mauridor*;† and a man

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* I must here observe, that neither the Kamtschatdales nor the Kuriles use either fowling-pieces or slugs. When they wish to shoot even the smallest bird, they employ a rifle with ball: they, therefore, but seldom kill birds in this manner, though they use little powder, and their balls are not large. A pound of powder and two pounds of lead serve to load a piece more than one hundred times.

† In Buffon's Natural History, I find no mention made of any bird which corresponds with the mauridor; I will, therefore, endeavour to give some description of it. In size the mauridor resembles a pigeon: the feathers on the back and upper part of the wings are blackish and dark grey; sometimes both these colours are mixed; on the breast and under the wings they are light grey. The wings are long, and consist of two parts, connected together by joints. When the wings are spread out, the bird measures from one side to the other about two feet eight inches, and thirteen inches from the extremity of the beak to the end of the tail. The feet are trifid; the claws scarcely perceptible, and connected together by a thin skin: at the back part of the foot there is a small toe, which resembles a nail. The feet and skin are of a blue colour; the beak, which is pointed and black, is turned downwards at the end, and on the upper part furnished with two holes.

may catch thirty, forty, or even fifty of these birds in one day. The feathers are taken off with the skins, which are sewed together and made into parkis, both for men and women. The fat is made into oil, and the Kuriles smoke the flesh, and lay it by for provisions during the winter. Indeed, their chief sustenance consists of the flesh of these birds, together with wild garlic, saranna, and various kinds of sea-plants; in addition to which, however, they frequently procure rice from the Japanese.

The Kuriles who are under the dominion of the Russians have in general no beard. Those, however, whom we found on Eetooroop had beards, but they had allowed them to grow in imitation of the hairy Kuriles, who preserve their beards. Alexei, therefore, in consequence of continuing on board with us, expressed a wish to have his beard removed, and was accordingly shaved. I besides gave him several articles of naval clothing which had belonged to seamen now deceased.

The inhabitants of Shoomska and Paramooshier travel with dogs like the Kamtschatdales. On Raschaua and Oosheessier, however, they do not understand this art, but keep a number of dogs for hunting foxes. I did not before mention this sort of fox-hunting, because it is not general, and only practised by some of the Kuriles on the Island of Raschaua. The inhabitants of Oosheessier, on which there are no foxes, go in quest of these animals to other islands, whither they cannot carry

their dogs with them. In both islands they use dog-skin for winter dress.

Alexei informed us that we might find a safe anchoring place near the Island of Kunaschier (the twentieth on the chain of the Kurile Islands), and that it contained a fortified village, where we might be supplied with wood, water, rice, and fresh roots. Instead, therefore, of proceeding to Oorbeetsh, I resolved to sail straight to Kunaschier. To this determination I was chiefly induced by the wish of closely examining the harbour of Kunaschier, and the channel which separates that island from Matsmai; this channel being as yet unknown to European navigators, and on many charts both islands being described as one connected piece of land. Even on Broughton's chart this uncertainty is not removed. Besides, I wished for other reasons to reach the village and anchoring place as speedily as possible. We found that the rats in the store-room had consumed more than four poods of biscuit, and about six tschetweriks of malt; and as we knew not what havoc they might have made among the provisions which lay still lower in the hold, we judged it expedient to proceed with all possible haste to a place where, in case of necessity, we might procure a fresh stock.

Owing to adverse winds, fogs, and thick weather, we did not reach the straits between Matsmai and Kunaschier until the 4th of July. In the interim we cruized in the neighbourhood of the Islands

Eetooroop, Kunaschier, and Tschikztan, which we occasionally saw, though they were almost always veiled by mists. Towards evening we approached a long flat piece of land, forming the eastern side of the harbour of Kunaschier. Our entering the harbour at so late an hour might probably have excited alarm among the Japanese, I therefore thought it advisable to cast anchor in the channel. During the whole of the night, we observed large fires burning on both the promontories of the bay, which were probably intended for signals. On the following morning, the 5th of July, we sailed into the harbour. As we advanced, guns were twice fired at us from the castle; the shot, however, fell into the water without reaching our vessel. From this circumstance, we concluded that the Japanese on the Island of Eetooroop had not yet made known to those here our favourable intentions; and as the fortress and the bay were still enveloped in darkness, we again cast anchor. When the weather cleared up, we stood in towards the fortress, from which there was now no more firing; though the boat, which was a-head of us, and in which some of our crew were taking soundings, was within range of the guns. The works were hung round with white and black, or dark blue striped cloth, so that we could perceive neither walls nor palisadoes. Sentinels were posted in various places, and above them embrasures were painted, but in so rough a style, that even at a considerable distance we could per-

ceive the deception. Within the fortress we could only descry a few buildings, which stood upon an acclivity, and overtopped the wall. Among these buildings the governor's house was distinguished by numerous flags and weather-cocks being fixed upon the roof; we likewise saw flags waving on other houses in the town, but not in such number. For this circumstance Alexei could not account, though he told us that the town was always so ornamented whenever a foreign vessel or any personage of distinction entered the harbour. We cast anchor at a distance of about two wersts from the garrison; and the pilot's assistant, named Srednoy, four sailors, the Kurile, and myself, got on board a boat and rowed towards the shore. We had already come within fifty fathoms of the shore, when the Japanese unexpectedly began to fire their cannon upon us from different points. We immediately put about, and, as will readily be supposed, began to row off as quickly as possible. The first guns which were fired had nearly proved fatal to us, for the shot passed close to the boat; but afterwards they fired less frequently, and appeared to point their guns very badly.*

On hearing the report of the first firing, Captain Lieutenant Rikord, the senior commanding-officer under me, immediately dispatched all the

* The Japanese powder appears to be extremely bad: on being fired it creates an uncommonly thick and black smoke.

armed boats to our assistance; fortunately, however, we had no occasion for them, as not a single ball touched us. Even when we were out of the reach of their shot, the Japanese did not cease firing, and we still heard the reports of their cannon after we had got on board the sloop. I was not a little indignant at this aggression. It appeared to me that none except the rudest barbarians would have been guilty of firing from the fortress upon a little boat, containing only seven men, when they could not but be aware that a single ball might have sent us all to the bottom. I at first thought I should be justified in taking vengeance on them, and had already ordered a cannon to be pointed at the castle, to convince the Japanese how powerfully our sloop was armed; but I soon reflected that the moment for vengeance would not be lost, and that without the consent of my government I should not be justified in resorting to hostile proceedings; I therefore altered my intention, and stood off from the garrison. A thought now suddenly came across my mind. I imagined that by means of signs I might make myself understood by the Japanese. For this purpose, on the 6th of July, I caused a cask to be sawed in two, and set both parts afloat in the water in front of the town. In the inside of one half of the cask were placed a glass containing fresh water, a piece of wood, and a handful of rice, to denote that we were in

want of these articles; the other half contained a few piastres, a piece of yellow cloth, and some crystal beads and pearls, meaning thereby to intimate that we would give them either money or other articles in exchange for provisions. Upon this half of the cask we fixed a drawing of the harbour, the fortress, and the sloop; which was very skilfully executed by the Midshipman Moor. In this drawing the sloop's guns were very distinctly marked, but fixed in the ports with their tomkins in; but the guns of the garrison were represented as firing, and the balls flying over the sloop. By this means I wished, if possible, to make the Japanese sensible of their perfidy. No sooner had we set the cask afloat and rowed away, than the Japanese immediately seized it, and carried it into their fortress. On the following day we approached within gun-shot of the castle, for the purpose of receiving an answer; having, however, previously made every preparation for an engagement; but the Japanese did not seem to notice us. No one appeared near the works, which were still hung round with cloth.

I reflected seriously on all the circumstances that had occurred, and was convinced that I had a right to demand an answer of some sort or other from the Japanese. Our first intercourse with them had been purely accidental: the chief with whom we had communicated had voluntarily given

us a letter to the governor of a town, in order that we might be supplied not only with wood and water, but likewise with provisions. Relying on this assurance, we had sailed to Kunashier, and lost a fortnight, during which time we might have returned to Okotzk. Our provisions having in the meanwhile greatly diminished, we hoped to obtain a fresh stock from the Japanese, who, however, did not regard our proposal as worthy of an answer. In this critical situation, I requested that each officer should draw up a written declaration of his opinion respecting the course which ought to be adopted. They all agreed that nothing but the utmost provocation could justify us in proceeding to hostilities, until the command of the monarch authorised us so to do. In this particular, the opinions of the officers coincided with my own, and we moved farther from the castle.

I now dispatched a well-armed boat, under the command of Captain-Lieutenant Rikord, to a fishing-village on one side of the harbour, directing him to take the necessary quantity of wood, water, and rice, and to leave payment either in Spanish piastres or merchandize. I remained on board the sloop, which I kept under sail at a short distance from the shore, being fully resolved to obtain these articles by force, in case the Japanese should oppose the landing of Lieutenant Rikord. But neither soldiers nor any inhabitants were to

be seen in the village. Here Lieutenant Rikord found only muddy rain-water; he, however, carried off some wood, rice, and dried fish, and left behind him various European articles, which Alexei declared to be far more valuable than what he carried away. In the afternoon curiosity induced me to go ashore to try to discover the plans of the Japanese, and I was highly pleased to observe that all the articles which Lieutenant Rikord had left were removed. The Japanese must, therefore, have visited the shore after his departure; and those who occupied the fortress would thus be convinced that plunder was not our object. There were two fishing villages on this side of the harbour, and we observed every necessary apparatus for fishing, salting, drying, and extracting oil. The Japanese nets are excessively large, and every article used by fishermen, such as boats, buckets, vats for the oil, &c. were all in astonishing good order.

On the 8th of July we observed a cask floating before the town: I immediately weighed anchor in order to take it up. We found that it contained a little box wrapped up in several pieces of oil-cloth. The box contained three papers; one of which was a Japanese letter, which we could not read, and the other two were drawings. Both these sketches represented the harbour, the castle, our sloop, the cask with a boat rowing towards

it, and the rising sun, but with this difference, that in one the guns of the castle were firing, whilst in the other the muzzles of the cannon were turned backwards. We were a long time occupied in considering these hieroglyphics, and each explained them after his own way; but this will not be thought wonderful, as the same thing frequently happens among greater scholars. We all, however, agreed in one thing, namely, that the Japanese declined holding intercourse with us.

For my own part I interpreted these drawings in the following manner: I supposed the Japanese to mean that, though they had not fired upon us when they observed us sending off the cask, yet if we attempted to send out another, they would immediately fire upon it. We then got under weigh, and stood over to the mouth of a little river on the western side of the harbour, where we cast anchor. I now sent out some armed boats in quest of fresh water. The seamen continued at work all day on the shore without experiencing any opposition from the Japanese; they merely sent out some Kuriles from the castle, who at the distance of about half a werst, observed the motions of our crew. On the following morning, the 9th of July, our boats again went ashore: a Kurile immediately came out of the castle, and approached them with a very slow pace, and an

air of extreme apprehension. In one hand he held a wooden crucifix, and with the other continually crossed himself as he advanced towards the shore. He had lived for several years among our Kuriles on the Island of Raschaua, where he was known by the name of Koosma: there he had probably learnt to cross himself, and having observed that the Russians venerate the cross, he now ventured forth under its protection to meet us in the character of a flag of truce. Lieutenant Rudakoff was the first who accosted him: he caressed him, and gave him various presents; but nothing could subdue the terror of the Kurile, who continued to tremble as if he had been seized with the shivering fit of an ague. I next approached him, but was unable to make myself understood, as Alexei was not along with us. The Kurile was so terrified that he would neither wait for him nor accompany us on board, and we did not think it prudent to detain him by force. He could scarcely speak ten words of Russian, yet I understood from his gesticulation that the governor of the city expressed a wish that he and I should meet in boats, accompanied by an equal number of people on both sides, in order to hold a conference. I joyfully testified my willingness to accede to this proposal, and I gave the Kurile a string of beads. This present seemed to inspire him with so much boldness, that he ventured to ask me for a little tobacco; I, however, happened to

have none with me, but promised to bring him some the next time I came on shore. I then took leave of him, and put off with the boat.

Meanwhile the Japanese had placed another cask in front of the castle, but so close to the batteries that I deemed it imprudent to venture to take it away; still nobody came out of the castle, though they beckoned to us with white fans to come on shore. I now began to suspect that I had misunderstood the Kurile: as we were preparing, however, to row back again, we observed a boat put off from the shore. In this boat were several officers and a Kurile interpreter, and they immediately rowed towards us. They had many more men on board than we; but as we were well armed, I felt no reason to be afraid of them. The conference began on their side, with an apology for having fired upon us when we first attempted to land. To justify this proceeding, they declared that their distrust had been excited in consequence of an outrage committed upon them some years before, by the crews of two Russian vessels, who had at first landed under pretence of the same motives which we professed. They, however, perceived the difference between our conduct and that of their former visitors: every suspicion had now vanished, and they declared their readiness to do all they could to serve us. I desired our interpreter, Alexei, to explain to them, that those ships were mer-

chantmen; that the aggression had been made without the consent of our government, and that the owners of the vessels, both of whom were now no more, had suffered due punishment for their reprehensible proceedings. I sought to convince them of the truth of this assurance by the same method which we had adopted with respect to the Japanese on the Island of Eetoorpoo. They replied that they believed all we had said, and rejoiced to hear that the Russians entertained such good dispositions towards them.

When I inquired whether they were satisfied with the payment they had received for the articles taken from the fishing village, they answered, that what we had taken were mere trifles, and that we had paid infinitely beyond their value. They moreover assured me that the governor was ready to furnish us with any thing their island afforded, and inquired what other articles we stood in need of. I requested to have ten bags of rice, some fresh fish and vegetables, for which I offered to give as many piasters as might be required. They invited me to land, in order to have an interview with the governor; this, however, I declined doing, and promised to go on the following day, when the sloop would be nearer the shore. According to my promise, I had brought some tobacco for Koosma; but the Japanese officers did not think fit to allow the Kurile to receive my present. I wished to have had

some further conversation on various subjects with the Japanese; but Alexei, who had recognized some of his old friends in the boat, was so fond of chattering with his countrymen, that he neglected to interpret my questions.

When we had parted from the Japanese, Alexei explained to us what his countrymen had communicated to him. They declared that the approach of our sloop had filled the Japanese with the utmost terror and consternation: they were convinced that we intended to attack them, and had accordingly removed all their property, with the greatest haste, to the forests. We had ourselves observed them driving loaded horses along the hills. The Kuriles added that they fired on our sloop merely through fear, and when they observed our boat approaching the fishing village, they felt assured that we intended immediately to plunder and set fire to their habitations. When, however, we quitted the shore, they returned to inspect their houses, and finding every thing in the same order as they had left it, and that we had left many valuable European articles behind in exchange for the rice, fish, and wood, which we had carried away, the joy of the Japanese knew no bounds, and all their apprehensions ceased. I was the more ready to believe that they had fired upon us merely through terror, since they probably suspected that we had a strong party concealed in the bottom of the boat. The boat was indeed in-

finitely too small for any such purpose, but then they might have been blinded by fear; they would not else have attacked a handful of men, who, as it were, threw themselves into their power. They might have waited on the shore, and have made us their prisoners whenever we landed. But Alexei had previously informed me that the very sight of a Russian inspired the Japanese with indescribable terror. They expressed great astonishment at the rapidity with which the Russians fired their guns, and the excellent order in which they fought, which they had witnessed during the attack made upon them by the Company's vessels.

On the morning of the 10th of July we filled our last cask with water; which business, and the state of the wind, did not permit us to approach the castle. In the meanwhile the Japanese sent out a boat, and made signs that they wished to speak with us. We immediately rowed towards them, and, as we approached, I observed that the persons in the boat threw a cask into the water, and immediately put ashore. We found that this cask contained all the articles which we had left in the village as payment for what we had taken, and likewise all that we had placed in the cask which we had first sent off. I now put into it eighteen piasters and some East India silks, and was preparing to row on board, when the Japanese began to beckon us with white fans, and to make signs,

indicating that they wished us to land. This invitation was given when we had no longer need of any thing from them, and when we had obtained so abundant a supply of wood, water, and provisions, that we might have continued two months longer at sea, prosecuting our observations, and then have sailed back to Okotzk.

I wished, however, to communicate with the Japanese for other reasons. I considered it my duty, as an officer in the service of the Emperor of Russia, to assure them, if possible, that our government had taken no part in the outrages committed on their coasts by the Company's vessels; that the directors of the American Company were not persons of great consideration in Russia, but even they had never sanctioned that illegal proceeding, which was wholly attributable to the captains of the vessels, and that his Imperial Majesty had ever entertained a wish to establish friendly compacts and commercial relations between Russia and Japan. I reflected that my duty to my native country required that I should, in such a case, lay aside all consideration of personal danger. I therefore ordered the sailors, of whom I took four with me, to conceal their arms, by wrapping sail-cloth about them, but to be careful to have them in readiness, in case of an attack; and we landed at a distance of from sixty to eighty fathoms from the gates of the castle. The Kurile Alexei, one of the

sailors, and myself, stepped ashore: I ordered the rest to keep the boat afloat, not to permit any of the Japanese to get on board of it, and to keep their eyes constantly fixed upon me, in order to watch any signal I might make to them. We were met on the shore by an officer, called an Oyagoda (a term nearly equivalent to our commander of a district), two inferior officers, two privates, and upwards of ten Kuriles. All the Japanese, though of different ranks, were dressed in costly silk garments, and were completely armed: each had a sabre and poniard fastened in his girdle, but the Kuriles, on the contrary, were without any arms. I had only a sabre by my side, but I had taken the precaution of concealing three pair of pistols in my pockets and my bosom. The Oyagoda received me with the utmost civility and politeness, and requested that I would wait on the shore for the governor of the castle, who, he assured me, would soon come out to meet me. I asked him what we were to understand by their having sent back in the cask all the articles we had left in the fishing village. He replied, that they wished to return them, because they supposed we did not intend to have any further intercourse with them, and that in that case they durst take nothing. I immediately recollected that Laxman, in his Narrative, mentioned that the Japanese would accept of no presents until the conclusion of the negociation, though it did not

appear that they afterwards declined any thing which he offered them. I therefore felt myself perfectly satisfied on this head.

I had not long to wait for the governor: he soon appeared, completely armed, and accompanied by two soldiers, one of whom carried his long spear, and the other his cap or helmet, which was adorned with a figure of the moon. In other respects it somewhat resembled the crowns which are occasionally worn at nuptial ceremonies in Russia. It is scarcely possible to conceive any thing more ludicrous than the manner in which the governor walked. His eyes were cast down and fixed upon the earth, his hands pressed close against his sides; he besides proceeded at so slow a pace that he scarcely extended one foot beyond the other, and kept his feet as wide apart as though a stream of water had been running betwixt them. I saluted him after the European fashion, upon which he raised his left hand towards his forehead, and bowed his head and his whole body towards the ground. Our conversation then commenced. I apologized for having been compelled, by the most urgent necessity, to occasion them so much inconvenience. He expressed his regret that the ignorance of the Japanese respecting the object of our visit should have occasioned them to fire upon us, and inquired why, on first entering the harbour, we did not send out a boat to meet that which had been

dispatched from the garrison, as we might thereby have prevented the occurrence of such disagreeable hostilities. I assured him that no boat had been seen by any of the crew on board our sloop, and imputed our not having perceived it to the darkness of the evening. I plainly saw, however, that he was seeking to excuse his own conduct, and was at the same time asserting a direct falsehood; for when we entered the harbour, we could perceive every object around us with the utmost distinctness: not even the flight of a bird, and much less a boat proceeding from the shore, could have escaped our observation. He then asked whether I was the captain of the vessel, or whether it was commanded by some individual older than I; which question he repeated several times. He likewise asked where we were sailing to; why we had landed on their coasts; and whither we next intended to proceed? Lest an explanation of the real object of our visit to their islands might create fear and suspicion, I informed him that we were sailing from the eastern extremity of our empire to St. Petersburgh; that contrary winds had considerably lengthened our voyage; and that, being greatly in want of fresh water and wood, we wished to enter some safe harbour to procure a supply of these articles. I added, that we had accidentally touched at the Island of Eetoorpoo, where we found a Japanese garrison, the commander of which had furnished us with a

letter to Oorbeetch, which I wished to have sent ashore: these were the reasons which had induced us to enter their harbour, and that we now wished to take the nearest course to Canton, for the purpose of procuring some articles from that place. Here he observed, that on landing at Eetoorpoo we had declared trade to be our object, but that we now told a very different story. I replied, that if he had been so informed, the mistake was to be ascribed to the Kuriles, who spoke but little Russian; and, as in the Kurile language there were no words signifying money or purchase, they had been obliged to translate these terms by the words exchange or trade. He then asked what was our Emperor's name, what was my name, whether I knew Resanoff, who had been sent as ambassador to their islands, and whether there were any persons in St. Petersburgh who could speak the Japanese language? To all these questions I returned suitable answers: I informed him of Resanoff's death, and told him that there were several persons in Russia who could translate the Japanese language. He carefully noted down every thing I said. He then invited me to partake of some tea, sagi, and caviar, and to smoke tobacco. Every thing was served upon separate dishes, and presented by different individuals, who were all armed with poniards and sabres; but instead of going away after having handed us any thing we wished

for, they remained standing near, till at length we were surrounded by a formidable circle of armed men. Among the various articles which I had brought ashore as presents to the governor, were several bottles of French brandy: I accordingly asked him whether he would chuse to taste this liquor, and ordered my sailors to draw a bottle; at the same time taking an opportunity of repeating the order I had previously given them, namely, to hold themselves in readiness.

To desire that the overplus of the Japanese should remove, or to shew that I was in any way alarmed by their presence, was what I could not stoop to do; besides, I thought it prudent not to let them suppose that I distrusted them. There was also no appearance of any intention to resort to violence on their part, notwithstanding that they might have done what they pleased with us, though certainly not without suffering some loss. We smoked, drank tea, and joked together. They were curious to know the Russian names of several things, and I in return asked the Japanese names. At last I stood up, and inquired when I should receive the promised provisions, what I should have to pay for the same, and held up a piaster, in order that the number of that coin, which they required, might be mentioned. To my great astonishment I was then informed, that the officer with whom I had been conversing was not the commander-in-

chief of the fortress, and therefore could decide nothing on this point. He, however, invited me to go into the castle with him, in order to make the necessary arrangements with the governor myself. This I declined, on the pretence that I had already spent too much time with him, and that were I to comply with his desire, a suspicion would probably be excited on board of the sloop, which might give rise to hostilities. I offered at the same time to follow him into the fortress, provided that some persons of distinction among them went on board the sloop in my boat, as that would satisfy the officers with respect to my safety.

The proposal was no sooner made, than one of the Japanese left us, as if for the purpose of obtaining the governor's consent. The answer was a refusal, accompanied with an assurance that the governor would immediately come out to us; but soon after a messenger announced that he was gone to dinner, and could not yet come. I declined to wait any longer, but promised to bring the ship nearer the shore, and to visit the castle. The lieutenant-governor made no objection to my going; but on parting presented me with a flask of sagi and some fresh fish, expressing regret that he had not more of the latter to give. He, however, pointed to a large net which had been thrown, and requested that a boat might be sent on shore before the evening set in, as the whole draught should be given to

us. He accepted from me a burning-glass and a bottle of brandy, but would not permit the Kuriles to take any tobacco from us. As a mark of friendship, he gave me a white fan, with which he said we were to beckon when we came on shore, as a signal of our being peaceably disposed. During the interpretation of the Japanese officer's speech, Alexei talked frequently to me of the cross, but in so obscure and unintelligible a manner, that I could not comprehend him. It was not until we were again in the boat, and felt ourselves quite free, that he sufficiently collected himself to explain what he really meant. It was well known to the Japanese, he observed, that the Russians entertain the greatest veneration for the cross, and on that account he had wished me to cross myself, and signify that I made that sign in confirmation of our friendly disposition towards them. On hearing this I was exceedingly vexed that I had not been able to understand him before we left the shore.

Towards evening we stood in within gun-shot of the castle, and brought the sloop to anchor. It was now too late for me to think of entering on any conference; but I ordered Midshipman Jakuschkin to go ashore with an armed boat, to deliver the letter we had brought from the Isle of Eetooroop, and to bring on board the fish which had been promised us. I further directed him to row to the place I had landed at, and not to leave the boat a

single moment. He executed my orders with the greatest punctuality, and returned at twilight. The Japanese received him with much kindness, and sent us more than a hundred large fish on board. When they were informed that they might expect me in the morning, they expressed their hope that I would not fail, and their wish to see some of my officers along with me. I must confess that this invitation ought to have excited some degree of suspicion; but I was led into the error of disbelieving Jakuschkin. As an officer, this midshipman was zealous in the performance of his duty; but his curiosity was insatiable: he wished to be every where, and to see every thing with his own eyes. I, therefore, conjectured that it was not agreeable to him to see me go ashore by myself, and that he had invented this invitation in order that I might be induced to take him with me next day. What confirmed me in this notion was, that at the same moment he asked leave to make one of the party; this I was, however, under the necessity of refusing, as I had previously promised to take Midshipman Moor and Mr. Chlebnikoff, the pilot.

Next morning, July 11, at eight o'clock, I landed with the above-named officers, the Kurile Alexei, and four seamen.* I was so fully persuaded that

* Their names were Dmitry Simanoff, Spiridon Makaroff, Michailo Schkajeff, and Grygory Wassiljeff; all of the first rank, or able seamen.

we stood on a friendly footing with the Japanese, that I had not ordered the seamen to arm themselves. The officers, three in number, including myself, had each a sword, in addition to which Mr. Chlebnikoff brought with him a pocket pistol, more for the purpose of making a signal in the case of a fog, than for defence. On passing the cask which we had sent on shore, we looked into it, and found all the things we had placed there unremoved. I again recollected what had happened to Laxman, and ascribed this circumstance to the Japanese practice of accepting no presents while a negociation was pending. At last we landed close to the fortress. The Oyagoda, and two officers whom I had seen the day before, came out to meet us, and begged that we would wait a little until every thing was prepared for our reception in the castle. Wishing by my confidence in the Japanese to extinguish any suspicion they might yet entertain, I ordered the boat to be hauled up on the shore until it was half out of the water, and left one sailor with it. The other seamen I directed to follow us, carrying seats, and the presents which I destined for the Japanese. We walked from ten to fifteen minutes on the shore, during which time I conversed with the Oyagoda. I made inquiries respecting the coast of Matsmai, of which we had a view, and the trade between their island and the peninsula of Niphon. I remarked, however, that

he answered my questions with reluctance. Finally, we proceeded to the castle.

On entering the castle gate, I was astonished at the number of men I saw assembled there. Of soldiers alone, I observed from three to four hundred, armed with muskets, bows and arrows, and spears, sitting in a circle, in an open space to the right of the gate: on the left a countless multitude of Kuriles surrounded a tent of striped cotton cloth, erected about thirty paces from the gate. I never could have supposed this small insignificant place capable of containing so many men, and concluded that they must have been collected from all the neighbouring garrisons since we appeared in the harbour.

We were soon introduced into the tent, on a seat opposite to the entrance of which the governor had placed himself. He wore a rich silk dress, with a complete suit of armour, and had two sabres under his girdle. A long cord of white silk passed over his shoulder; at one end of this cord was a tassel of the same material, and at the other a steel baton, which he held in his hand, and which was doubtless the symbol of his authority. His armour-bearers, one holding a spear, another a musket, and a third his helmet, sat behind him on the floor. The helmet resembled that of the second in command, with this difference, that instead of the figure of the moon, it bore the

image of the sun. This officer now sat on the left of the governor, on a seat somewhat lower than that of his superior; he too had his armour-bearers behind him. Four officers were sitting cross-legged on the floor on each side of the tent: they wore black armour, and had each two sabres. On our entrance the governor and lieutenant-governor both rose up: we saluted them in our own manner, and they returned the compliment. They invited us to sit down on a bench which was placed directly opposite to themselves, but we chose to use the seats we had brought with us. Our sailors seated themselves on the bench behind us. After the introductory civilities were concluded, they entertained us with tea without sugar, in cups which, according to the Japanese fashion, were only half filled; the cups had no saucers, but were handed to us on small trays made of varnished wood. Before they gave us the tea, they asked whether we would prefer any thing else. Pipes and tobacco were afterwards brought to us, and the conference commenced. They desired to know our names and rank, the name of our ship, whence we came, whither we were bound, why we had visited them, what had induced Russian ships to attack their villages, and further, whether we knew Resanoff, and where he now was? Our answers to these questions were conformable to the statements we had previously made, and were written down by

the lieutenant-governor. We were next told that to enable them to prepare the proper quantity of provisions we wanted, it was necessary they should know the exact number of our crew. Ridiculous as this question was, they had an object in putting it. On our part we thought it advisable to make our force appear more considerable than it was, and therefore doubled it, calling it one hundred and two men. Alexei could neither understand nor express this number; and I was obliged to make an equal number of marks with a black-lead pencil on paper, which the Japanese counted off. We were further asked whether we had any other ships of the size of the *Diana* in their seas? We answered that we had many in Okotzk, Kamtschatka, and America. Among their questions were several of a very insignificant nature, relative to our dress, customs, &c. They also carefully examined the presents I had brought for the governor, among which were maps of the globe, ivory-handled knives, burning-glasses, and piastres, with which I intended to pay the Japanese for a supply of provisions, as soon as I could ascertain the number they required.

While the conference was going on, Mr. Moor observed, that naked sabres had been distributed among the soldiers who were sitting in the open space. He immediately mentioned this to me; but I supposed that a sabre or two might have been accidentally out of their sheaths; and I asked

him, with a smile, whether he had not made a mistake, as the Japanese always carry swords, and could at present have no reason for drawing them. This remark appeared to satisfy him; but circumstances soon occurred which roused all our suspicion, and convinced us that some mischief was intended against us. The lieutenant-governor having withdrawn for a short time, as if to make some arrangement, returned and whispered to the governor, who immediately rose up to go away. We got up also to take our leave; and I repeated my question respecting the price of provisions, and also asked whether he intended to supply us with any? On hearing this he sat down, invited us to do the same, and, though it was early in the day, ordered dinner to be served up.

We accepted his invitation, and waited with impatience to see what would next occur, as it now appeared we were caught in a snare from which it would be difficult to escape. But the kind behaviour of the Japanese, and their assurances that we had nothing to fear, again tranquillized us, and induced us to abandon our suspicions of their treachery. They entertained us with rice, fish in a green sauce, and other savory dishes, the ingredients composing which we did not know. They also gave us sagi. After we had dined, the governor was again about to withdraw. I now declared that we could wait no longer, but must return

immediately on board. On hearing this he once more sat down, and having intimated that he could not supply us with any thing without an order from the Governor of Matsmai, under whose jurisdiction he was, proposed that one of us should remain in the castle as a hostage, until a decision should be returned by that commander on the report he was about to transmit to him. The Japanese began now to throw off the mask. I desired to be informed what time would be occupied in sending the report to Matsmai and obtaining an answer; he replied a fortnight. I felt, however, that it would be dishonourable to leave an officer behind me as a hostage. There was, besides, no knowing when such an affair would be brought to a conclusion with a people like the Japanese. It was probable that when the report reached Matsmai the commander of that island would say he could do nothing without the authority of the general government: thus I perhaps should have to wait until winter for a decisive answer. I therefore stated that I could not wait so long without consulting the officers who remained on board the *Diana*, and that I would leave no officer as a hostage; upon which we rose to go away.

The governor, who had hitherto conversed in a soft and gentle voice, now altered his tone, spoke loud and with warmth; frequently mentioned Resanoto (Resanoff) and Nicola-Sandrejetsch (Ni-

colai Alexandroivitsch, meaning Chwostoff the captain of the company's ship) and struck several times on his sabre. In this manner he made a long speech, of which the terrified Alexei interpreted to us only the following sentence:—"The governor says that if he let a single one of us out of the castle his own bowels will be ript up." This was brief and decisive! We instantly made all the haste we could to escape. The Japanese did not venture to close upon us, but set up a loud cry, and threw oars, and large pieces of wood at us, to knock us down. On our reaching the gate they fired several times on us, but without effect, though one of their balls whistled past the head of Mr. Chlebnikoff. We now found that they had succeeded in detaining Mr. Moor, the sailor Makaroff, and our Kurile Alexei, in the castle. We ran, however, to our landing place; but on arriving there, perceived with horror that the tide had ebbed above five fathoms, and left the strand quite dry. As the Japanese saw that it was impossible for us to get the boat afloat, and had previously ascertained that it contained no arms, they became confident, advanced against us with drawn sabres, which they held in both hands, muskets and spears, and surrounded us beside the boat. I cast a look upon the boat, and said to myself;—It must be so; our last refuge is lost; our fate is unavoidable!— I surrendered. The Japanese seized me by the arms,

and conducted me to the castle, into which my unfortunate companions were also conveyed. On the way thither a soldier struck me several times on the shoulder with a small iron bar, but one of the officers said something to him, accompanied with a look of displeasure, and he immediately discontinued.

CHAPTER II.

We were carried into the same tent in which we had held the conference, but neither of the commanders with whom we had communicated were now there. The first thing done was to tie our hands slightly behind our backs, and conduct us into an extensive but low building, which resembled a barrack, and which was situated on the opposite side the tent towards the shore. Here we were all, except Makaroff, (whom we had not seen since our separation) placed on our knees, and bound in the cruelest manner, with cords about the thickness of a finger: and yet this was not enough; another binding with smaller cords followed, which was still more painful. The Japanese are exceedingly expert at this work; and it would appear that they conform to some precise regulation in binding their prisoners, for we were all tied exactly in the same manner. There were the same number of knots and nooses, and all at equal distances, on the cords with which each of us was bound. There were loops round our breasts and necks; our elbows almost touched each other, and our hands were firmly bound together: from these fastenings

proceeded a long cord, the end of which was held by a Japanese, and which on the slightest attempt to escape required only to be drawn to make the elbows come in contact, with the greatest pain, and to tighten the noose about the neck to such a degree as to produce strangulation. Besides all this, they tied our legs in two places, above the knees and above the ankles: they then passed ropes from our necks over the cross beams of the building, and drew them so tight that we found it impossible to move. Their next operation was searching our pockets, out of which they took every thing, and then proceeded very tranquilly to smoke tobacco. While they were binding us, the lieutenant-governor shewed himself twice, and pointed to his mouth, to intimate perhaps that it was intended to feed us, not to kill us.

We passed an hour in this melancholy and painful situation, without being able to form any idea of what was to be done with us. We indeed supposed, when the ropes were passed over the cross beams, that we were about to be hanged. I never so totally despised death as at that moment, and I wished with all my heart that the murder we anticipated might be perpetrated without delay. We once fancied that we should be carried to the outside of the castle, and hung up within sight of our countrymen; and in our state of despair this notion was in some measure consolatory. I was

persuaded that if we were butchered in so inhuman a manner before the eyes of our friends and shipmates, their hatred of the Japanese would be further augmented, and their desire of vengeance rendered more ardent; and that when they carried back the news of this massacre to Russia, the same feelings would be excited in the hearts of our monarch and his people. We should then, in dying, have had the satisfaction to reflect that our death would be avenged, and the Japanese be taught to repent their crime, or even to deplore our fate. At last, they removed the cords from above the ankles, and loosened a little those above the knees, and led us from the castle, first into a field, and then into a wood. We were bound so fast, that a child, without the least risk, could have led us where he pleased. The Japanese, however, did not think so lightly of the business. Each was led with a cord, by a particular conductor, and had also an armed soldier walking by his side. In this manner we moved onward, one behind the other.

On ascending a hill, we saw our ship under sail. This sight lacerated my heart. When Mr. Chlebnikoff, who was immediately behind me, exclaimed "*Wassly Michailovitsch!*---take a last look of our *Diana!*" it seemed as though a deadly poison had been running through my veins. Good heaven! thought I, how much do these words comprehend!

—Take a last look of Russia, of Europe—we belong now to another world! We are not dead, but all there is lost and dead to us. Never more shall we know what is passing in our country, in Europe, or in any part of the world! I felt all the terrors of my situation.

When we had walked the distance of two wersts, we heard a cannonade. We could easily distinguish the firing of our sloop, from that of the castle; but the strong garrison of the Japanese, and the thick earthen wall which formed their fortification, did not permit us to expect any fortunate result from the contest. We were afraid lest the *Diana* might catch fire or run aground, and the whole crew fall into the hands of the Japanese. In this case the knowledge of our dreadful fate would never reach Russia. What I most dreaded, however, was, that the attachment which Lieutenant Rikord and the other officers entertained for me, would induce them to overlook every danger, and to land with the crew, in order to storm the garrison. They might, I feared, make the attempt, as they were not aware how greatly the strength of the garrison exceeded that of the sloop's crew; which, officers, seamen, and servants, amounted only to fifty-one men. This idea troubled me the more, as we could learn nothing of the fate of the *Diana*.

I was so tightly bound, particularly about the

neck, that, before we had travelled six or seven wersts, I could scarcely breathe. My companions told me that my face was swoln and discoloured. I was almost blind, and could not speak without the greatest difficulty. We made signs to the Japanese, and requested them, through Alexei, to loosen the cord a little, but the cannonade so frightened them, that they paid no attention to our remonstrances; they only urged us to move faster, and kept constantly looking behind them. Life now appeared a heavy burthen to me, and I resolved in case we should have to pass a river, to make a sudden spring into the water, and thus terminate a painful existence. I soon saw, however, that it would not be easy to execute this purpose, as the Japanese always held us fast by the arms when we had occasion to cross even a little brook. I fell at length senseless on the ground: when I recovered, I found the Japanese sprinkling me with water, and the blood flowing from my mouth and nose. My unfortunate companions, Moor and Chlebnikoff, were, with tears in their eyes, begging the Japanese to loosen the cords with which I was bound. They at last, with the greatest difficulty, prevailed on them to comply. I then found myself much eased, and was soon able to make an effort to proceed.

After completing a journey of about ten wersts, we arrived at a small village, situated on the

straits which divide this island from Matsmai. We were conducted into a house, where boiled rice was offered us, but we felt no desire to taste food of any kind. On our declining to eat, we were taken into another apartment, in which we were laid down close to the walls, so as not to touch each other. The ropes by which we had been led were attached to iron hooks, driven into the wall for that purpose. Our boots were pulled off, and our legs tied as before in two places: when the Japanese had disposed of us in this way, they sat down in the middle of the room round a chafing dish, and drank tea and smoked. Any man might have slept tranquilly beside lions, had they been bound as fast as we were, the Japanese, however, never thought themselves secure. The cords with which we were tied were inspected every quarter of an hour. At this moment we regarded them as the rudest barbarians on the face of the earth, but subsequent events proved that there are worthy men among them; and we were afterwards rendered more comfortable, indeed as much so as men could be under such circumstances.

The sailor Makaroff, who had been separated from us in the castle, but who now joined us, related that as soon as the Japanese seized him, they took him to a barrack, were the soldiers treated him with sagi and boiled rice, and that he ate every thing that was offered to him with the

keenest appetite. They then bound his hands, and conveyed him out of the fort; but when they had taken him to a short distance he was unbound. In this way they conducted him to the village, where he was again tied. He was allowed to rest on the way, and one of the soldiers gave him a draught of sagi out of his flask.

In this situation we remained the whole of the night. Even now, the bare reflection of that moment fills me with horror. My own fate, however, was not my first consideration. I would willingly have made any sacrifice to release my unfortunate companions from their bondage; for I alone had been the cause of their misfortune. In the mean time, the generous conduct of my two officers, Moor and Chlebnikoff, made a deep impression upon me. Instead of casting the slightest reflection on my rash confidence in the Japanese, they endeavoured to console me, and reproached some of the sailors when they began to murmur, and to ascribe their misfortune to my want of prudence. I can, however, declare that no murmurs ever caused me to feel the slightest dissatisfaction towards those men. They had, indeed, ample reason for complaint, but while they bewailed their distressed situation, they observed such respect towards me, that I felt their complaints most severely. Our misfortune had placed us all on a footing of equality. Every hope of returning to Russia had vanished, and conse-

quently men in their situation might have been expected to let loose their tongues against me in revenge for what they suffered. But our sailors were incapable of such conduct.

Notwithstanding the excessive and almost insupportable pain which the bandages had occasioned in my wrists, and every joint in my body, yet severe anguish of mind rendered me, for the moment, regardless of all bodily suffering: every attempt at moving my position, or even turning my head, was accompanied by the most indescribable agony. I frequently prayed for death, as the greatest of blessings.

We observed that the captain of our guard repeatedly received scraps of paper, which he read, and handed to those about him. On reading those papers, they discoursed in a very low tone of voice, and with the utmost caution: though we understood not a single word of Japanese, they nevertheless seemed fearful lest we should comprehend what they said. I desired Alexei to attend to their conversation, and to endeavour to make us acquainted with it. He told me that the Japanese had received these papers from the garrison, and that they were talking of our sloop, and the Russians; but this was all he could collect from their discourse.

At the approach of twilight, our guards began to bestir themselves, and seemed to be preparing for

a journey. About midnight a broad plank was brought in, to the four corners of which ropes were attached: these ropes were fastened at the top, and slung across a pole, the ends of which were laid on men's shoulders; and thus the whole was suspended. The Japanese placed me upon this plank, and immediately bore me away. We now concluded that we were to be separated for ever, and that we could entertain no hope of seeing each other again. Our farewell was like the parting of friends at the hour of death.

The sailors wept aloud as they bade me adieu, and my heart was wrung on leaving them. I was conveyed to the sea-side, and placed in a large boat, with a mat beneath me. In a few moments Mr. Moor was likewise brought to the shore in the same way as I had been, and placed in the boat beside me. This was indeed an unexpected happiness. I was so overjoyed, that for a few moments I experienced a diminution of my torment. Moor was soon followed by Mr. Chlebnikoff, and the sailors Simanoff and Wassiljeff; the rest were placed in another boat. A soldier under arms was stationed between each of us. After we were covered over with mats, the boats were rowed from the shore.

The Japanese sat beside us without either saying a word, or taking the slightest notice of our complaints; except, however, a young man, about

twenty years of age, who spoke the Kurile language, and who kept constantly singing and mocking us while he assisted in rowing the boat. He counterfeited the sound of our voices, when anguish both of body and mind forced us to offer up supplications to Heaven, or to break forth in bitter lamentations.

At break of day, on the 12th of July, we landed near a little village, on the coast of the Island of Matsmai. Here we were removed into other boats, which were drawn with ropes along the shore in a south-easterly direction. In this way we were dragged the whole of that day and the following night. There was no halting, except at certain fixed places, where the men, who were employed in the dragging, and who came from the neighbouring villages, were relieved. The whole coast was, indeed, thickly strewed with buildings and habitations of various kinds. Between every third or fourth werst we observed populous villages, in all of which extensive fisheries appeared to be carried on.

The methods adopted by the Japanese in this branch of industry are in many respects singular. We frequently passed by at the moment when they were drawing their large nets out of the water, filled with an incalculable number of fish.* The

* The Japanese usually throw out their large nets at a distance of from twenty to twenty-five fathoms from the shore

best fish in these parts are of the salmon species, and are likewise caught at Kamtschatka.

The Japanese frequently offered us stewed rice and broiled fish; and when any one of our party expressed a wish to partake of these dishes, they lifted the food to his mouth with two or three pieces of sticks, which were used by them instead of forks.

The Japanese even carried their attention to us so far, that some of them stood constantly near us with boughs of shrubs in their hands to drive off the gnats and flies. We were not a little surprised at this inconsistent conduct; for, notwithstanding their excessive care to protect us from the flies, they shewed the utmost indifference to our complaints, and never offered to ease our sufferings by loosening the cords with which we were bound. We had, indeed, but little kindness to expect from them. To suffer us to pine away our lives in everlasting imprisonment, instead of putting us to death, was, in their opinion, the greatest act of mercy they could shew us. The bare thought of never again enjoying liberty, was to me, however, a thousand times more dreadful than death. But

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There they suffer them to remain until they are filled with fish, which are extremely abundant during the fishing season. A number of men then seize both ends, and drag them ashore with one pull.

even on the brink of an abyss man seldom abandons Hope, and we now sought consolation in her smiles. We might some time or other find an opportunity of escaping. The Japanese, who were cautious, in consequence of our vessel being still in the neighbourhood of their coasts, might, one day or other, be induced to loosen our bonds, without reflecting on what despair might force us to attempt. We might even find an opportunity of getting possession of a boat, in which we could proceed to the Tartar coast. From thence, under pretence of shipwreck, we might easily obtain a conveyance to Pekin, and, with the consent of the Chinese government, it would be no difficult matter to gain permission to proceed to Kiachta. Thus we pictured our return to Russia, our dear native country. But these pleasing reveries quickly vanished; and we recognized the truth of the Russian proverb, which says: "It is easy to think, but not so easy to do." That the Japanese would not keep us eternally bound with ropes, was indeed no improbable supposition: yet what would avail us the freedom of our hands and feet, since that freedom would doubtless only be enjoyed within four high walls, and behind an iron grating. Where then was the coast of Tartary, where Kiachta. With this reflection the last ray of hope became extinct, and our souls were filled with the blackest despair. I frequently thought that had

shipwreck, or any other misfortune, thrown me into the hands of the Japanese, I would never have murmured at my fate, but have borne my sad imprisonment with resignation. I should then have cheerfully entered the fortress, willing to render myself useful to the Japanese, and regarding them as friends; or, had I, who was the sole cause of the misfortune, been the only one to suffer from it, I should not at least have been tormented by self-reproach; but seven of my crew were likewise doomed to pay the forfeit of my imprudence.

My companions sought to banish these feelings of remorse from my mind. Mr. Moor, who perceived that I was harassed with vexation at having been over-reached by the Japanese, referred to several historical examples, to prove that men of higher rank than myself, such as Cook, De Langle, Prince Zizianoff, and others, had become the victims of similar accidents. Yet I thought their fate far preferable to my own. They suddenly perished, whilst I was doomed to live, the cause and the witness of the sufferings of my companions. To the honour of Mr. Chlebnikoff, I must declare that he manifested more resignation than any of our party. He never murmured, but consoled himself with the reflection, that no human wisdom or foresight could have averted a misfortune, to which, in his opinion, we had been doomed by all-governing fate. I, however, entertained very dif-

ferent notions of predestination. In my opinion, such men as are to blame for their own misfortunes, are as a warning to others, justly visited with the pain of repentance and sorrow; but, on the contrary, those whom fate has plunged into a state of misery, which no earthly wisdom or foresight could have averted, can have no remorse, and therefore bear their destiny with calmness.

At break of day, on the 13th of July, we stopped to breakfast at a little village, the inhabitants of which immediately collected on the shore to look at us. A grey-haired man, of very venerable appearance, begged that our guards would allow him to furnish us with a breakfast and some sagi. This permission was granted, and the old man stood near the boats during the whole time of the repast, to see that we wanted for nothing. The expression of his countenance plainly shewed that he sincerely pitied us. This trait of benevolence and sympathy for our misfortunes, in an utter stranger, afforded us no little consolation. We now began to entertain a better opinion of the Japanese, and no longer regarded them in so barbarous a light as their former conduct seemed to justify.

When we had finished our breakfast, the boats were again dragged along the shore. The weather was calm and serene; the thick clouds, which before obscured the horizon, had now dispersed. All the neighbouring hills and coasts, including Kuna-

shier, and the banks which gird its fatal harbour, lay full before us, brightened by the gleam of the morning; but our *Diana* had disappeared. Indeed, to have beheld her would only have increased our affliction. An hour or two before sun-rise we stopped in front of some huts, which were inhabited by Kuriles. Here the Japanese, assisted by the Kuriles, pulled the boats ashore, without desiring either us or our guards to get out, and having dragged us through several thickets and a little wood, they proceeded to ascend a hill, and as they advanced cleared the road out with hatchets and other implements. We were utterly unable to divine what could have induced them to drag boats of such extraordinary size* up an acclivity. We suspected that they had caught a glimpse of the *Diana*, and were consequently fearful of being deprived of their booty. But we soon discovered the real cause, for when the boats had reached the summit of the hill, which was tolerably high, they dragged them down the other side into a little stream, which had very much the appearance of an artificial canal. We travelled in this manner by land in the boats about the distance of three or four wersts. During this journey Wassiljeff began to bleed at the nose as profusely as if he had had a vein opened. We begged that the cords which

* Our boat was at least thirty feet long, and eight feet broad.

passed round his throat might be loosened; but the Japanese paid no regard to our entreaties, and proceeded to insert cotton in his nostrils; but observing that this did not diminish the effusion of blood, they slackened the cords, though in a very slight degree. This cruelty again effaced the good impression which their conduct, a short time before, had made upon our minds, and confirmed us in our first opinion, that they were the most unfeeling of barbarians.

When our boat was dragged into the stream, and fairly afloat, our guards began to treat us somewhat more kindly, probably because they now no longer feared an attack from our sloop. They endeavoured to explain to us by signs, that in the course of eight or ten days we would reach Matsmai, where, after our case should be investigated by their superior authorities, we would be set at liberty, and permitted to return to Russia. Though we could not place full faith in this assurance, we did not entirely discredit it, and a faint ray of hope again beamed upon us.

The stream emptied itself into a large lake, which communicated with several others. Our boats sailed slowly along this lake the whole of that night, and the day following. When we arrived at places where the water was shallow, the Kuriles jumped out of the boat, and dragged it. It rained violently the whole night, and the Japanese

covered us over with mats. These were, however, so frequently tossed off, that we found it necessary, every other moment, to request that they would lay them straight again. One of the soldiers, who stood near Mr. Chlebnikoff, was an extremely kind-hearted man, and was always ready to do any thing to serve us: the attention of the rest was, on the contrary, only manifested towards us during the day: they were always displeased if we disturbed them at night. We were completely soaked with rain. One of the guards struck Mr. Moor for troubling him so frequently; but, for this act of insolence, he was immediately reprimanded by the rest. At midnight, we stopped before a small village or town, to relieve the rowers. Large fires were burning near the shore, by the light of which we discovered a number of Japanese soldiers and Kuriles drawn up rank and file. The former were in their military dresses, wearing armour, and bearing muskets; the latter were armed with bows and arrows. Their chief stood in front, clothed in a rich silken garment, and holding in one hand a symbol of his power, which somewhat resembled a balance. The captain of our guard advanced towards him with testimonials of the highest respect; and, kneeling down with his head inclined towards the earth, he continued a long time engaged in relating something to him, probably giving him an account of

our seizure. The chief then came on board our boat, and inspected each of us with a lantern. I entreated that he would order our guards to loosen the cords with which we were bound. The guards immediately comprehended us, and interpreted our request. Instead of returning an answer, the chief began to laugh, muttering something between his teeth, and stepped ashore. Our boats now quitted the shore, and rowed off.

On the night of the 15th, we suddenly stopped before a large fire, which had been kindled on the shore. There our guards unbound our feet, and conducted us to the fire. After we had warmed ourselves we ascended a high hill, and entered a large empty building, which had probably served as a store-house, and in which there was no aperture except the door. There our conductors laid us down, provided us with covering, and having again bound our feet in the same way as before, presented us with boiled rice and fish. The Japanese now began to drink tea, and smoke tobacco, and seemed to give themselves no further concern about us. On the 15th, it rained violently the whole day; we, therefore, remained where we were, and, indeed, scarcely ever altered our positions. Three times, in the course of the day, the Japanese gave us boiled rice, fish, and a kind of soup made of mushrooms.

On the morning of the 16th, the sky became

serene, and our guards made preparations to depart. The bandages above our ankles were now removed, but those above our knees were merely loosened so as to enable us to walk: our boots were then drawn on, and we were conducted into the open air. We were now asked whether we preferred walking, or being carried in litters? We all chose to walk, except Alexei, who complained of excessive pain in his feet. The Japanese Oyagoda* took a considerable time to determine on the order of our procession; however, he at length disposed of us in the following manner: two Japanese from the neighbouring village proceeded first, walking side by side, and carrying staves of red wood, very handsomely carved: their office was to direct our course. These were relieved, on entering the next district, by two new guides, carrying staves of the same description. The guides were followed by three soldiers. Next came my turn, with a soldier on one hand, and on the other an attendant, who, with a twig, kept the gnats and flies from fixing upon me. Behind me was a conductor, who held together the ends of the ropes with which I was bound. We were followed by a party of Kuriles, carrying my litter;† and after them another party,

* Commander of the district.

† This litter consisted of a plank, about four feet, or four and a half long, and two and a half feet broad. At each corner of

who were destined to relieve the others when they became fatigued. Next came Mr. Moor, guarded in the same manner as I was; after him Mr. Chlebnikoff; then the sailors, one after the other; and last of all Alexei. The whole retinue was closed by three soldiers, and a number of Japanese and Kurile servants, carrying provisions, and the baggage of our escort. The party must have amounted to between one hundred and fifty and two hundred men. Each individual had a wooden tablet suspended from his girdle, on which was an inscription, stating with which of us he was stationed, and what were the duties of his office. The Oyagoda had all this marked down on a list of their names.

The Japanese frequently halted to rest on the way, and always offered us boiled rice, salt fish, dried herrings, and mushrooms: tea, without sugar, was our only drink. About noon they entered a tolerably spacious and neat country house, for the purpose of dining. The owner of this house, who was a young man, furnished us himself with provisions and sagi. He ordered beds to be prepared

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the plank twigs were fixed, the upper ends of which were fastened together at a distance of four feet above the plank. Through these twigs a pole was passed, which the Kuriles bore on their shoulders, walking three before and three behind. The litter was covered over with matting, in order to shelter it from the rain.

for us, and entreated that we would rest there for the night. To this our conductors gave their assent; but we expressed a wish to proceed on our journey. The excessive pain of our arms induced us to wish as quickly as possible to arrive at our journey's end; for, if we could place confidence in the assurance of the Japanese, we were to be unbound on reaching Matsmai. In the afternoon we proceeded at a very rapid pace, as our guards wished to reach the town of Atkis before night. We were likewise equally anxious to advance, since they assured us, that, on arriving there, we should be unbound for a while, and that a surgeon would be directed to dress the sores which the tying of the ropes had occasioned on our arms and legs. The weather was fine, but excessively warm. We almost fainted with fatigue, and were scarcely able to advance another step; to seat ourselves comfortably in the litters was impossible, for they were so small, that it was necessary, when we tried to use them, to contract the body; and as our hands were bound, we were unable to change the position in which we happened to be placed, without assistance. We experienced the utmost pain in every part of the body. Unfortunately too, our road lay along a foot-path which crossed a forest, and as the Kuriles advanced with great rapidity, our litters frequently came in contact with the trunks of the trees. This occasioned an insupportable

shock, and after an experiment of ten minutes duration, we were usually obliged to get out of our litters and to proceed on foot.

A short time before sun-set we reached a little stream, where two boats were waiting for us. This stream, we were informed, communicated with the harbour upon which Atkis was built, and whither we soon expected to arrive. Mr. Moor, myself, and two sailors, were placed in one of the boats, and Mr. Chlebnikoff and the rest of our party in the other. The boats were hung round with matting, so that, excepting the sky, every external object was screened from our sight. Men in a situation like ours are naturally inclined to notice mere trifles, and try, if possible, to derive consolation from every occurrence. We, accordingly, regarded this circumstance in a favourable point of view, and concluded that the distrust of the Japanese had induced them to veil the bay and sea-port from our observation, to prevent us from acquiring further knowledge of that part of their coast. If so, thought we, our guards are right in supposing that our imprisonment will not last for ever, and that sooner or later we shall obtain our freedom: why else should they conceal from us an object, the sight of which, if we were to be imprisoned for life, we could never turn to their disadvantage? This thought revived our hopes, so that we almost forgot our misery, and were as

cheerful as though the period of our liberation had already approached. In the meanwhile our boats reached the bay. Our flattering anticipations were now at their height, when one of the soldiers suddenly tore down part of the matting, and by a sign gave us to understand that we might rise and take a view of the city and bay. Heavens! we were in a moment plunged from the highest pinnacle of hope into the deepest despair. The idea of regaining our freedom seemed all a dream: the Japanese, said we, conceal nothing from us; there is, therefore, little ground for supposing that they will liberate us of their own accord. Though this circumstance tended greatly to depress our spirits, yet hope never completely forsook us. We soon recollected that a Russian transport had entered the same bay twenty years before; and that, consequently, the Japanese could have no reason to conceal from us that with which the Russians had long since been acquainted. We should, however, have enjoyed much greater consolation of mind, had the soldier left the mat standing, the use of which was probably to keep off the flies, and not to deprive us of a view of the bay and city.

It was night when we entered Atkis. A detachment of soldiers came out to meet us, and conducted us to the castle, which was hung round with striped cotton cloth. We were shewn into a neat house, the interior of which was remarkably

clean, and adorned with paintings after the Japanese taste. We all entered a large apartment, to the walls of which planks with iron hooks were affixed, and to these hooks the ends of our ropes were fastened. Our guards besides supplied us with beds and cotton coverlets,* and gave us some supper, they then bound our feet as before, and in this situation we remained until next morning.

On the 17th of July we rested in Atkis. In the morning our hands were unbound for a few minutes, and rags were rolled round the parts on which the skin was broken. We were utterly

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* The Japanese beds consist, according to the circumstances of the owners, of large silken or cotton quilts: these quilts are lined with thick wadding, which is taken out previous to their being washed. The Japanese fold their coverlets double, and spread them on the floor, which, even in the humblest cottages, is covered with beautiful soft straw mats. On retiring to rest, the Japanese wrap themselves in large night-dresses, with short full sleeves; these are likewise either of cotton or silk, and are thickly wadded. Instead of pillows, they make use of pieces of wood, carved in various forms. The common people place under their heads a piece of round wood, hollow at one end, and, from custom, sleep as soundly on this as on the softest pillow. The higher or richer classes make use of a very neat box, about eleven inches high, to the lid of which an oval cushion is affixed, from six to eight inches in length, and from two to three in breadth. This box contains articles which they make use of at the toilette, such as razors, scissars, pomatum, tooth-brushes, powder, &c.

unable to place our hands in their natural position; and when the Japanese forced them asunder, the pain was excruciating, and far more severe than when they bound them together again. We received food three times every day, and were provided with cotton wadded night-gowns to throw over our own clothes, in order to protect us from the cold and rain.

On the morning of the 18th, we passed over to a village on the south side of the bay, where we breakfasted, and then proceeded on our journey in the manner before described. Our litters were still carried behind us, and we might have lain down if we had wished. Our conductors, for the most part, proceeded on foot, though they occasionally, by way of relaxation, for a short time mounted pack-horses.

During the whole journey, the Japanese uniformly observed the same regulations. At day-break we prepared for our departure, breakfasted, and then set out. Our conductors frequently stopped in villages to rest, or to drink tea and smoke tobacco. At noon we dined. Having rested for one hour after dinner, we again proceeded, and an hour or two before sun-set we halted for the night, usually in a village furnished with a small garrison. These night-quarters, when we first entered, were generally hung round with striped cotton cloth. We were always conducted

to a neat house,* and placed altogether in one apartment, where our guards never failed to fasten us to iron hooks which were fixed into the walls.

When we arrived at the station where we were to pass the night, we were always conducted to the front of the house belonging to the person possessing the highest authority in the place; we were there seated on benches covered with mats, and he came out to inspect us. We were then taken to the house allotted for our lodging; on entering which our boots and stockings were pulled off, and our feet bathed with warm water, in which there was a solution of salt. We were regularly provided with meals three times a-day; namely, breakfast in the morning before we set out on our journey, dinner about noon, and supper in the evening, in our night-quarters. There was, however, little variety in our diet; it consisted usually of boiled rice instead of bread, two pieces of pickled radish for seasoning, broth made of radishes or various wild roots and herbs, a kind of macaroni, and a piece of broiled or boiled fish. Sometimes they gave us stewed mushrooms, and each a hard-boiled

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* On one occasion only we were quartered in a little village, in an empty magazine, which had previously served as a store-house for rice. The heat of this place was quite insupportable; and the multitude of vermin crawling on the ground rendered it disgusting in the utmost degree.

egg. There was no limitation as to quantity; every one ate as much as he pleased. Our general beverage was very indifferent tea, without sugar: they seldom gave us sagi. Our guards fared as we did; and I suppose the expense of their provisions, as well as our's, was defrayed by the government, for at each station the senior among our conductors paid for every thing.

On the 19th, we implored the Japanese to untie our hands, in order that we might better arrange the pieces of cloth which had been wrapped about them, and which had become so hard with blood and purulent matter, that the friction produced by the slightest movement caused extreme pain. In consequence of our solicitations, they sat down in a circle, and held a council.* After some deliberation, it was resolved to grant our request; but under the condition that we should be again searched, and every article of metal taken from us. This had been already done in the castle, but the Japanese thought it necessary to repeat the precaution. We readily complied, and they hastened to relieve us from our torment. I had in the

* Our escort consisted of soldiers belonging to the principality of Nambu. They were all of equal rank; and though they were generally directed by the oldest among them, in any case which required a departure from the common course of things, they consulted altogether.

under part of my dress a key, which they did not discover in their search, and I shewed it them when my hands were free. This threw them into a dreadful alarm, and they began to search me over again. Their caution, however, or rather their fear, would not allow all our hands to be loose at once, but only two at a time, and merely for the space of fifteen minutes. They then changed the cloth bandages, and tied our hands as before.

This day an officer, who had been dispatched from Kunashier, came up with us, and took the command of our guard.* He treated us with great kindness; and, on the following day (the 20th) ordered our hands to be unbound, leaving the elbows tied. We were now, for the first time since our imprisonment, able to use our hands in taking food; and the motion of walking was much easier to us. When we had to be ferried over in boats from one point of land to another, our hands were re-bound; but these passages were short, and seldom occurred. The Japanese exercised so much

* From his splendid dress, and the respect which our escort shewed him, we concluded that he was a person of distinction; but we afterwards learned that he was merely a private in the service of the Emperor of Japan, and, as an imperial soldier, had rank and privileges far superior to the soldiers of a principality. Our escort regarded him as their officer; he never ate with them, and a particular apartment was always assigned to him.

precaution, that they would scarcely ever allow us to go near the water in our march: when we wished to approach it, as walking on the soft sand eased our feet, it was with great difficulty they could be induced to grant our request, and then always walked between us and the water, even when there was not room to do so without wetting themselves. They were not only thus vigilant in preserving us from the commission of suicide, but also in guarding us against every thing which they thought might injure our health. They took care that our feet should never be wet, and we were all carried, sailors as well as officers, over the shallowest pools or streamlets we had to cross. In the course of our journey, we often met with raspberries and strawberries, which, at first, they would not allow us to pluck, as they conceived them to be unfavourable to the health. We asserted, however, that quite the contrary opinion prevailed in Russia, and were at last permitted to refresh ourselves with the fruit.

We passed the 21st and 22nd in a village which, though but small, had a garrison and a commandant. The rain had raised a river to such a height as to prevent us from prosecuting our journey. There was in this village a professor of the medical art, who was ordered to do something to remove the effects of the severe binding we had undergone. For this purpose he employed a powder which very much resembled white ceruse, and which he strewed

on the wounds. To the swellings and indurations on the hands and fingers he applied white plaister, the ingredients composing which I could not discover. We soon experienced great ease from the operation of his medicaments, a sufficiency of which for use during our journey was provided.

We could now sleep tranquilly and walk with ease. When we were fatigued, we reposed in our litters, in which we found it practicable to remain without experiencing any particular pain. The behaviour of the Japanese was more and more kind. At every station the person first in authority in the village always visited us, remained some hours with us, and made frequent inquiries relative to Laxman and the Russians who accompanied him, whom some of the Japanese still recollected. They also often mentioned Resanoff. They praised the former, and held out the hope to us that the Japanese government would not condemn us to perpetual imprisonment, but would, in due time, set us free. It struck us as very remarkable that none of the Japanese who conversed with us alluded in the most distant manner to the conduct of Chwostoff, though they spoke much of other Russians whose names were known to them, and frequently mentioned the Japanese who had lived in Russia, and who, they said, were exceedingly well satisfied with their reception and treatment in our country. We knew not to what cause this for-

bearance was to be attributed; whether to a wish not to throw us in despair by reminding us of the conduct of our countrymen, for which we had no reason to expect a kind return, or from an equally delicate desire to avoid questions which might make us blush for offences in which we had no share.

In every village, on our arrival and departure, we were surrounded with crowds of both sexes, young and old, whom curiosity to see us drew together; and yet on these occasions we never experienced the slighest insult or offence. All, particularly the women, contemplated us with an air of pity and compassion. If we asked for drink, they were emulous to supply us: many asked permission of our guards to entertain us, and on their request being granted, brought us sagi, comfits, fruits, or other delicacies. On one occasion the chief of a village treated us with good tea and sugar.* They often inquired respecting an European nation called Orando, and a country to which they gave the name of Kabo. We assured them that we knew of no such people or countries in Europe; upon which they expressed surprise, and

* The Japanese have tea of native growth, both black and green; the former is however very bad: it is like the Chinese tea only in colour, but bears no resemblance to it in taste or smell. The Japanese constantly drink it both warm and cold, without sugar, as the Russians do kwass; as for the green tea, they

testified distrust at our answer. Sometime after we learned that the Japanese called the Dutch, Orando, and the Cape of Good Hope, Kabo. Our not understanding them was owing to the stupidity of our interpreter Alexei. We regretted excessively having given the Japanese cause to suspect that we concealed from them any information we possessed. We now entertained a very good opinion of them, and were persuaded that nothing but the inhuman conduct of our countrymen could have induced them to treat us with cruelty. Without having received any satisfactory explanation of that affair, they now began to shew kindness towards us. We felt certain that they would immediately liberate us, could we only convince them that our

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drink it seldom, and as a luxury. They previously roast or heat it at a fire, in paper canisters, until the vapour issuing from it has a very strong smell; it is then thrown into a copper tea kettle, containing boiling water, and thus acquires a particular flavour, of which the Japanese are very fond, though it proved most disagreeable to us: they have no loaf sugar. Muscovado of the best sort is brought to them by the Dutch: it is sold in little baskets, and is very dear. They have brown sugar of their own, but it is very dirty, dark coloured, and by no means sweet. They very seldom drink sugar with their tea, but prefer eating it by itself. They usually take a spoonful in one hand, and eat it like little children. When we offered our guards any of the sugar which had been given to us in presents, they always refused it with awkward reverences; but no sooner did we fall asleep, then they ate it all up by stealth.

government had no share in the proceedings of the Russian vessel. We began therefore to look upon our liberation as an event which might possibly take place, and flattered ourselves with the hope of, one day or other, returning to our native country. But a fresh difficulty arose.

Alexei, with whom we had frequent opportunities of conversing in the course of our journeys, as well as in the night-quarters, informed us, that about ten years ago some Kamptschatdale priests had conveyed a party of Kuriles,* in a baidare, from the Island of Raschaua to Eetooroop, which is under the dominion of the Japanese, for the purpose of converting the hairy Kuriles to Christianity, or, as Alexei expressed himself, "to teach their people our faith." When we inquired what instruction the Popes had sent to them, he replied: "The Popes gave us a great many copper images of saints, and written prayers,† with pictures, and desired us to shew them to the hairy Kuriles, and to tell them that the images represented the Russian God; and that, if they hung them about their necks, they would live long and happily, would never suffer sickness, and would hereafter exist in another world." He further added, that the Popes received a fox-skin from the Kuriles, in return for

* Among their Kuriles were Alexei and his father.

† Probably printed prayer-books.

every image or prayer. On arriving at Eetooroop they were however seized by the Japanese, who took from them the images and prayer-books. On being asked what these things meant, and why they had brought them thither, they candidly replied: "That the images represented the Russian God, and that they had been sent by the Russians to convert the inhabitants of Eetooroop to the Russian faith." The Japanese placed a strict watch over them, but they were fortunate enough one night to effect their escape, and to reach the shore, where they found a boat, in which they rowed off. They were immediately pursued by the Japanese, but a thick fog concealed them, and they reached their island in safety.

This information made a melancholy impression upon us. Heavens! thought I, we are doubtless destined to be punished for the faults of others. Though we were convinced of the good intentions of our monarch towards Japan, and felt conscious of our own innocence, yet we could not exculpate ourselves to a people who possessed such strong evidence against us. Even though we had proved to them that Chwostoff had acted without the knowledge of the Russian government, how could we ever hope to persuade them, that obscure and ignorant Popes had, to the disgrace of the Christian religion, transported images of saints and prayer-books to a foreign land, for the sole purpose of

serving their own interested views. We never could have convinced the Japanese that this had taken place without the authority of our government. I asked Alexei whether he had informed them of the Popes having exchanged the images and books for fox-skins. No, he replied, we were afraid to mention that.— Singular fatality! The Kuriles had concealed the only circumstance which might have served for our justification.

There appeared now no possibility of recovering our freedom with the consent of the Japanese, and flight we regarded as our only resource. I communicated my design to my companions; first to the officers, and then to the seamen. But how was our plan to be executed. We knew only of one doubtful and uncertain means: on arriving at our night-quarters, the Japanese always consigned us to the care of two or three inhabitants of the village, who had scarcely any arms about them, and who usually seated themselves in the middle of the room, and entered into conversation with each other, without paying any attention to us. The soldiers themselves were accustomed to lay their sabres down in a particular spot, at a short distance from us, to undress and wash themselves in bathing tubs; and having thrown on their night dress, would stretch themselves before the fire to smoke tobacco. Fires were never kindled in our rooms till dusk. Two of the sailors, Simanoff and Makaroff, and

myself, were so loosely bound, that we could with ease draw the ropes down from our elbows; and, as we lay very closely together, we might, in the darkness of the evening, have freed our own hands, and likewise have liberated our companions, who were faster bound than we. This might have been done without difficulty; though our shoulders ached excessively, and our hands were much swollen; yet in a case of necessity we could have managed to make use of them. We had only to wait until we should arrive at a village on the coast where boats were stationed, and when a smart breeze should be blowing from the land. We might then watch an opportunity for seizing the sabres of our guards, and hastening to the shore. So daring an attempt would have overwhelmed the Japanese with terror; their well-known cowardice would have deprived them of presence of mind: and whilst they would be engaged in searching for their arms, we might have reached a boat, and have cut the ropes which fastened it to the shore. Before they could have got on board their boats, the wind would probably have driven us to some distance; and it even appeare ddoubtful whether they would venture to attack us in the open sea, particularly if the waves were in the slightest degree rough. We therefore hoped, assisted by the compass, with which the Japanese boats are always furnished, to reach the coast of Kamptschatka.

This project, however, did not appear altogether practicable: in the first place we never might find a favourable opportunity for its execution: secondly, the sailors might not all resolve, as we did, to prefer death to imprisonment, and in our situation we had no control over them. The Kuriles themselves, who, we observed, hated the Japanese, held out to us another means of escape. Many of these Kuriles, when unobserved by the Japanese, had given our sailors to understand, by means of signs, that they might loosen their ropes and escape into the woods; but whether they were inclined to assist us, or whether we were ourselves to break from our bondage, and to seek safety by flight, we knew not. We could only make ourselves understood through Alexei, to whom we dared not communicate our design, lest he should betray us; for owing to the illtreatment which he declared his countrymen had experienced from the pelt-hunters, we had reason to suspect that he was much more partial to the Japanese than to the Russians; we, therefore, suspended our decision for the present, but resolved to be on the watch for a favourable opportunity.

Meanwhile, the Japanese continued to treat us with increasing kindness. Alexei having informed them that the drawing which they found in the cask was executed by Mr. Moor, they earnestly requested that he would make a sketch of a Russian ship. He of course supposed he should only

be required to make one drawing, and set to work with great alacrity, though he could merely obtain permission to have the ropes which bound his arms slackened in a very slight degree; having finished his task, the Japanese one after the other requested that he would draw a ship for each of them. He was tormented by their importunities, and Mr. Chlebnikoff undertook to assist him. I knew nothing of drawing, and they therefore requested that I would write something upon their fans. They always requested these favours very courteously, and intreated us to make sketches and inscriptions, not merely for themselves, but for their friends. They sometimes brought us ten or more fans at once, in order that we might inscribe upon them the Russian alphabet, or the Japanese alphabet with the corresponding Russian characters; our numerals, names, a song, or any thing we might fancy. They quickly observed that Mr. Moor and Mr. Chlebnikoff wrote better than I, and consequently they never applied to me, except when they were fully employed. Our sailors were likewise requested to write; and the Japanese expressed surprise when they excused themselves on the score of inability.* They considered a specimen of Rus-

* The Japanese make use of two kinds of characters in writing: 1st. A character which is the same as the Chinese, and by which every word is of course expressed by a distinct mark. The Japa-

sian writing as great a curiosity as an inscription in Japanese would be looked upon in Europe, and shewed us a fan upon which were inscribed four lines of a popular Russian song, signed by a person named Babikoff, who, it appeared, had visited Japan along with Laxman. Though these lines must have been written twenty years before we saw them, yet the fan was as clean and fresh as if perfectly new. The owner kept it wrapped up in a sheet of paper, and set so much value upon it, that he would scarcely suffer it to be opened. In the course of our journey we must have made inscriptions on at least a hundred fans and sheets of paper for the Japanese. They never obliged us to write, but always requested us to do so with much politeness, and constantly thanked us by raising the writing to their foreheads and bending their bodies. In

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nese state, that they borrowed their hieroglyphics several thousand years ago from the Chinese, so that the name of any object, though pronounced quite differently in the Japanese and Chinese languages, is expressed by one and the same sign in both. This character is made use of for works of the higher order, for official papers, and for the correspondence of persons of superior rank. 2d. The Japanese alphabet, consisting of forty-eight letters, which is made use of by the common people. Every Japanese, however low his rank, knows how to write in this last character. They were, therefore, exceedingly astonished to find, that of four Russian sailors not one should be able to write.

return they usually gave us some refreshment, or presented us with tobacco for smoking.

When the Japanese occasionally unbound our hands, they took care to hold our pipes for us whilst we smoked, fearing that we might by some means or other convert the pipe into an instrument of suicide; but of this they soon became weary, and, after a consultation, they resolved to permit us to hold our own pipes, on condition of our fastening to the mouth-pieces a wooden ball the size of a hen's egg. We laughed at this, and explained to them that it would be a much easier matter to choke ourselves with this ball than with the mere pipe. They then smiled at their own apprehensions, and told us, through Alexei, that their laws required that they should watch their prisoners strictly, and use every precaution to prevent them from committing self-destruction.

The curiosity of the Japanese was carried to so great a length, that, at every station at which we halted, we were requested to tell our names, our ages, how many relations we had, where our clothes had been manufactured, &c. Our answers were always set down in writing. They frequently requested the sailors, as well as the two officers and myself, to tell them Russian words, and the names of various things, and they thus formed little vocabularies for themselves. This surprised me very much, and we suspected that they were not induced

to question us so closely from mere curiosity, but that they had received orders to that effect from the government: we accordingly became more circumspect in our answers.

The 29th and 30th of July we spent in one place. The Japanese at first told us that they could not proceed on account of the illness of some of the soldiers; but the commandant of the village afterwards informed us, that a deficiency of the requisite number of men prevented him from sending us forward, and that we should continue our journey as soon as he could obtain a reinforcement. From these different accounts we concluded that they were deceiving us, and that our delay was occasioned by some cause which they did not wish to explain. This proved to be the fact. Alexei learned from some Kuriles that the place of abode which was preparing for us at Chakodade, whither we were proceeding, was not yet completed, and that three officers* had been dispatched from that city to meet us, and to give orders for stopping our march. These officers soon made their appearance, and informed us, that they had been sent to meet us by the governor of Chakodade, for the purpose

* We at first supposed that these men were officers of some distinction; they, however, proved to be only privates, of that description of military which I call imperial soldiers, to distinguish them from the others.

of conducting us to that city, and seeing that we were provided with every thing we stood in need of. The eldest of these officers, who was named Ja-Manda-Gooiso, shewed great attention to us, and during the journey constantly marched by our side. We now received food of a quality superior to that with which we had before been supplied. Gooiso assured us that when we reached Chakodade we should inhabit a fine house, which had been prepared for our reception; that we should enjoy our liberty, and be maintained in an expensive style; and that the most distinguished inhabitants of the place would seek our acquaintance, and invite us to their houses. But when we reflected that we were bound with ropes like the basest criminals, we strongly suspected that Gooiso said all this only with a view to console us. Yet our guards informed us, that whenever any of their most distinguished officers were arrested, they were always bound with ropes,* even before they were proved to be guilty. Considering then that the customs of the Japanese were totally unlike those of Europe, it was not improbable that persons of

* Binding with ropes is so common among the Japanese, that even the little boys in schools are punished for idleness and other offences, by having their hands tied behind their backs for a certain time, according to the magnitude of the crime committed by the young culprits.

rank might associate with us: and Gooiso treated us with so much kindness, that we felt inclined to place faith in what he said rather than in our own conclusions.

Besides our three new conductors, another individual was added to our escort. He was an officer in the service of the Prince of Nambu; and as a mark of distinction, a spear with a horse's tail was carried after him. All the rest treated him with the highest respect, and were entirely under his control. His whole duty appeared to consist in keeping a watchful eye over us. Our expenses were defrayed by the three imperial soldiers who had been sent to Chakodade to meet us. One of Gooiso's companions was a very intelligent young man; he was extremely agreeable in conversation, and treated us with the utmost attention and politeness. The other, however, who was a man advanced in life, seldom spoke to us, was seized with an immoderate fit of laughter whenever he looked upon us, and listened with great attention during our conversations with each other. From this last circumstance we concluded that he must have been one of those Japanese who had lived in Russia; and as he probably understood our language, had been sent for the purpose of collecting information from our discourse. We were confirmed in this suspicion when we recollected, that in one of the villages at which we had stopped, the commandant's secretary

privately informed us, that there were persons in Matsmai who understood the Russian language, though our conductors had never even hinted this to us.

After Gooiso became our conductor we experienced very different treatment. When we made a halt, the sailors were not suffered to sit upon the same bench with us: our mats were considerably better than theirs; and whenever the situation permitted it, the officers had a particular apartment assigned to them. With regard to our food, however, no difference whatever was observed.

As we were proceeding on our journey, on the 7th of August, we met an officer from Matsmai, who was on his way to Kunashier, to inquire into every circumstance relative to us. When his suite came within sight, we received orders to turn back, at which we were very well pleased. We supposed that the governor of Matsmai had dispatched this officer for the purpose of ascertaining exactly the events which had passed at Kunashier; and, if our friendly intentions were made manifest, to give orders for removing us to the Russian Kurile Islands that very summer: but our hopes proved unfounded; for we were informed that we must proceed to the nearest village, where the officer wished to have an interview with us. He, however, soon changed his mind, and expressed a

wish to hold a conference with us on the road. We found him seated in a little hut,* accompanied by two other officers, and with some persons of his suite. We were directed to seat ourselves opposite to him, on a plank, which was supported by two logs of wood, and covered over with mats. He asked us our names and ages, and inquired whether we were in good health. All the questions and answers that passed between us were written down by one of his officers, who acted as a secretary. He then wished us a pleasant journey, and desired us to proceed.

We now ascended an eminence, from the summit of which we beheld a vast plain, and the city of Chakodade at some distance before us. On descending the other side of this hill, we reached our last night's quarters, the village of Onno, which was the largest, and, from its situation, by far the most beautiful of any that we had hitherto seen. It lies in the centre of a valley, which is about twenty-five or thirty wersts in circumference, and is surrounded on three of its sides by high hills, which serve to shelter it against the cold winds. The harbour of Chakodade and the straits of Sangar lie to the south of the village. The valley is inter-

* In all the Japanese territories small cottages or huts are built on the highways, for the accommodation of travellers, at the distance of four or five wersts from each other.

sected by numerous rivulets and small streams. The village is, as it were, built within a garden, for every house is surrounded by a piece of cultivated ground, which is planted with kitchen roots and oriental trees. Besides the culinary vegetables common in Europe, we also observed apple, pear, and peach trees; and, in a regular order, hemp, tobacco, and rice. Onno is about seven wersts distant from Chakodade.

With regard to the extensive population of Japan, and the remarkable industry of the inhabitants, it may not be superfluous to observe, that during our journey along the coast, which extended to the distance of full one thousand and twenty wersts,* we beheld populous villages on every bay and creek we got sight of. During the summer some of the people reside in leaf-huts, built between these villages. The whole population is employed in catching, salting, and drying fish; they likewise gather a kind of sea-weed, which grows in great abundance on the coast, and which the Russians in these seas call sea-cabbage. This weed they spread out upon the sand to dry; they then collect it together in heaps, resembling haycocks, and cover it over with matting, until the time arrives for loading the vessels, which carry it to the harbour of Niphon.

* The Japanese make the distance, by land, from Kunashier to Chakodade two hundred and fifty-five rees, and each ree is more than two thousand fathoms of our measure.

Every thing produced by the sea is considered eatable by the Japanese: fish, marine animals of every description, sea-plants, and weeds, are all made to contribute towards their support. A vast number of individuals gain a livelihood by selling, among the numerous population of Japan, the articles of food which they collect upon the coasts.

The boundary between the Kurile and Japanese villages lies about one hundred and fifty or two hundred wersts distant from Chakodade. The two divisions are separated by a beautiful little stream, which, at the time of our arrival, was so swollen by heavy rains, that it was not without considerable difficulty we succeeded in fording it. The Kurile villages are generally small, consisting of huts without either kitchen-gardens or orchards, and, upon the whole, present an appearance of poverty. The only structures which deserve to be called houses are those inhabited by the Japanese civil and military officers; they are built in a neat style, kept clean, and have kitchen-gardens and orchards attached to them. The Japanese villages, on the other hand, present a very different aspect. They are large, have regular streets, and the houses, which are all of wood,* are very neatly built. Every

* Wood is the only article used for building in Japan. The Japanese, however, declare that they can build with stone as well as other nations, but that they are prevented from so doing on account of the violent earthquakes.

house has a kitchen-garden, and many are furnished with orchards. The cleanliness which prevails in the streets and houses is truly astonishing. The inhabitants are extremely lively, and content and cheerfulness are painted on every countenance. It cannot, however, be said, that the personal appearance of the Kuriles is the opposite of all this. The Matsmai Kuriles are generally tall and strongly made, very active, and far more handsome and manly than the Russian Kuriles, or those who inhabit Eetooroop, and Kunashier.*

On the morning of the 8th of August, our conductors made preparation for a formal entrance into the city. They put on new clothes, and armed themselves with coats of mail and helmets. Our breakfast was much better than usual, consisting of a fowl, excellently cooked in a kind of green sauce,

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* The Kuriles of Matsmai are a distinct race of people from the inhabitants of the other islands, and have a language of their own, which, though it contains many Kurile words, is totally unintelligible to the other Kuriles. Alexei and the inhabitants of Kunashier and Eetooroop understood each other perfectly well, yet he could not converse with the Matsmai Kuriles without the utmost difficulty, and was frequently quite unable to comprehend their meaning. They must, however, have originally been one and the same people. This is sufficiently proved by the general similarity of their persons and customs, and the great number of words which are common to the languages of both.

which is reckoned a great delicacy among the Japanese. But we did not promise ourselves any good fortune from this circumstance. We always observed that the Japanese treated us very kindly whenever they were about to communicate to us any unwelcome piece of news. It was even so in the present instance. We had no sooner finished our breakfast, than the Nambu soldiers, who had accompanied us from Kunashier, formally declared* to us, through Alexei and their Kurile interpreter, that, to their great regret, they were compelled to conduct us into the city bound in the same manner as when we left Kunashier. They accordingly set to work without further preamble; but Gooiso, his companions, and the Nambu officer, who had recently joined us, opposed the tying of our hands behind us: the soldiers, in a respectful manner, made their counter representations, and a discussion ensued, which lasted upwards of a quarter of an hour. The soldiers frequently mentioned the

* Whenever the Japanese had any thing to communicate to us, the utmost pomp and ceremony were always observed. They seated themselves in a row, and placed us opposite to them, and their interpreter and Alexei were directed to kneel down on the ground between us. Silence was then proclaimed, and the eldest man among them began to discourse with the interpreter in a deliberate and low tone of voice. The interpreter then translated what he said to Alexei, who in his turn communicated it to us.

governor of Kunashier, and apparently insisted on executing his commands, which were, that we should be conducted into Chakodade bound as we had left Kunashier. Gooiso immediately dispatched a messenger to Chakodade; and, after we had advanced two or three wersts beyond Onno, an order arrived for unbinding our hands, which was immediately obeyed. When we came within three wersts of the city, we halted, and stepped into a little hut, to wait for further orders respecting our entrance.

In the meanwhile a vast number of individuals, of both sexes, old and young, came from Chakodade, to see us. We observed several men on horseback in silken dresses, which, as well as the rich harnessing of their horses, proved that they were persons of rank. In the afternoon the procession began to move with great pomp. Both sides of the road were crowded with spectators, yet every one behaved with the utmost decorum. I particularly marked their countenances, and never once observed a malicious look, or any signs of hatred towards us, and none shewed the least disposition to insult us by mockery and derision.

We, at length, entered the city, where the concourse of people was so immense, that our guards had great difficulty in clearing a passage for us. Having proceeded to the distance of half a werst along a narrow street, we turned down a cross

street on our left, which led us into the open fields. Here, upon a rising ground, we first beheld the building which was destined to be our prison. The very sight of it filled me with horror. We saw only the long roof; but that sufficiently enabled us to form a notion of the extent of the edifice. A high wooden enclosure or fence, which was of great strength, and which was well provided with chevaux-de-frise, concealed the body of the building. This wooden fence was surrounded by an earthen wall, somewhat lower, which, on this occasion, was hung with striped cloth. There was a guard-house near the gate, in which several officers were seated. Along the path which conducted to our prison soldiers were stationed in full military dresses: they stood at the distance of two fathoms from each other, and were armed in various ways; some with muskets, some with bows and arrows, and others with spears, &c. A party of officers were stationed in front of the building. On arriving at the gate we were received by an officer, to whom a list of our escort had previously been handed, and we were then conducted into a sort of court or yard. Here our future gloomy and horror-stirring residence presented itself fully to our view. It was a large dark building, resembling a barn, and within it were apartments formed of strong thick spars of wood, which, excepting the difference of size, looked exactly like bird-cages. The darkness,

however, did not permit us to observe the whole at once.

The Japanese placed us in a row near the fence, and began to consult with each other respecting the way in which they should dispose of us. We remained for half an hour in a state of fearful anxiety. At length, Mr. Moor and I were asked which of the sailors we wished should remain with us. We were overjoyed at this question, and inquired whether Mr. Chlebnikoff might be with us. But this the Japanese objected to, and informed us that they thought it improper to leave private sailors without an officer, who would teach them, by his example and advice, to bear unavoidable misfortunes; adding, that the men might otherwise lose courage, and become the victims of despair. Upon this they conducted me, followed by Mr. Moor and Schkajeff, along one side of the building, the rest of our companions being conveyed round to the other. Our eyes were bathed in tears at this separation, which we apprehended was to be eternal.

I was led into a passage or lobby in the building, where my boots were drawn off, and the ropes with which I was bound removed. I was then directed to enter a small apartment, which was divided from the passage by wooden palisades. I now looked around me in quest of Mr. Moor and Schkajeff; but how great was my astonishment to find that I could neither see nor hear them! The Japanese,

without saying a word, closed the door of my apartment, and quitted the lobby, the door of which they likewise closed after them. I was now alone. The thought of being separated from my companions, perhaps separated for ever, completely overpowered me, and, overwhelmed with despair, I threw myself upon the ground.

CHAPTER III.

I REMAINED for some time in a state of insensibility. At length, having raised my eyes, I observed at the window a man, who beckoned on me to approach him. I complied with his wish; and reaching his hand through the railing, he presented me with two little sweet cakes; at the same time entreating me, by signs, to eat them quickly, as a punishment awaited him if he should be observed. At that moment I loathed the very sight of food; but I made an effort to eat the cakes, lest a refusal might have given offence to my kind visitor. His countenance now brightened up, and he left the window, with a promise to bring me more at a future time. I thanked him as well as I was able; and was greatly astonished that a man, who from his dress apparently belonged to the very lowest class, should be actuated by so powerful a feeling of benevolence, as to hazard his own safety for the sake of conveying comfort to an unfortunate stranger.

My guards now brought me some food; but I felt not the least inclination to partake of it, and sent it all away. In this state I remained until

evening. I sometimes threw myself on the floor, or upon a bench, and occasionally walked about the apartment, meditating on some means of effecting my escape. With this view, I attentively inspected the construction of my cage. It was six feet in length and breadth, and about eight feet in height. It was divided from the lobby by wooden palisades of a tolerable thickness, and the door was fastened by a lock. There were two windows, secured externally by strong wooden gratings, and in the inside furnished with paper screens, which I could open and shut at pleasure. One window faced the wall of a building about two feet distant from that in which I was confined; and the other looked towards the southern side of the fence which surrounded our prison. From this window I had a view of the neighbouring hills and fields, part of the straits of Sangar, and the opposite Japanese coast. In the interior of the chamber stood a wooden bench; which, however, was so small, that I could not stretch myself upon it; and three or four mats lay in one corner on the floor. The place contained no other furniture.

Having fully considered the situation of my prison, I was convinced, that with a common knife I could, in three hours, cut the grating which covered the window, through it get into the yard, and that, favoured by the darkness of the night, I might, with the utmost ease, cross the wooden

fence and the wall. But how was a knife to be procured, since we were not entrusted even with the possession of a needle; and though I had succeeded in recovering my liberty, what could I have done alone? My flight might perhaps have induced the Japanese to wreak their vengeance on my unhappy companions. The very thought of what might be their situation so distressed me, that, though I had possessed the means of effecting my escape, and a boat had been in readiness on the shore, with an easterly wind to blow me to the Tartar coast, I could not have taken advantage of the opportunity. Accordingly I abandoned every idea of attempting to escape alone.

At the approach of night the attendants brought me a new wadded cotton quilt, and a large wadded night-dress; but the latter was so old and dirty, that I could not allow myself to put it on, and I threw it into a corner. During the night patrols hourly walked round the wooden hedge, making a noise like the sound of rattles;* and the guards in the interior frequently came into the lobby with lights, apparently for the purpose of watching me.

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* The Japanese sentinels strike the hours with two pieces of dry wood, which we at first mistook for rattles. The patrol passed close to the place where I slept, and announced the hours.

Early in the morning, when every thing around me was silent, I suddenly heard the sound of voices discoursing in the Russian language. I instantly sprang from the bench on which I was lying, and ran to the window which looked towards the wall of the neighbouring building, from whence I distinctly heard Mr. Moor in conversation with Schkajeff. I was transported at this unexpected discovery, and thanked heaven that my companions were not doomed to solitary imprisonment, but at least enjoyed the consolation arising from mutual condolence. I moreover hoped that we might one time or other gain an opportunity of communicating our designs to each other, and of escaping together. I burned with impatience to let them know that I was near them; but I feared lest the sound of my voice might give rise to suspicion. In the meanwhile the soldiers and attendants began to move about the prison, and their noise prevented me from hearing any thing farther. One of my guards now brought me cold and warm water for washing: he suffered the door to stand open whilst he remained with me; but as soon as I had finished washing he went out, and closed it after him. My breakfast was then sent in to me, but I was unable to eat a morsel.

About noon an officer appeared in the lobby, accompanied by a new Kurile interpreter, by a

physician,* a man about fifty years of age, and by Alexei. They discoursed with me through the palisades. The officer asked whether I found myself well; and pointing to the physician, said he had been sent by the governor of Matsmai for the express purpose of superintending our health. Whilst the Japanese were discoursing together, I had an opportunity of learning from Alexei that Mr. Chlebnikoff and Simanoff were shut up together, as were also Makaroff and Wassiljeff, but that he, like myself, was imprisoned alone. He added, that their dungeons were without windows, and excessively filthy. At twelve o'clock my dinner was brought in, but I refused it. The guard then opened the door, muttered something to himself in ill-humour, and laying down the dinner, went out and closed the door behind him. I was, however, unable to taste food.

In the evening the same officer returned with the interpreters, Wechara and Alexei, and informed me that the governor of the city, fearing that time might hang heavily upon me, whilst I was alone, wished to know which of the sailors I should like to have along with me. On my replying that I had

* I afterwards learnt that the name of the interpreter was Wechara Kumaddshero, and that of the physician Togo. I shall therefore call them by their names whenever I have in future occasion to mention them in the course of this Narrative.

no preference,* he observed that I must make choice of one, since such was the wish of the governor. I then requested that they might be sent to me by turns, and that Makaroff might be permitted to come first. He was instantly conducted to me. I endeavoured to persuade Alexei to request that the Japanese would send him to keep company with Wassiljeff in Makaroff's absence; but this he refused to do, which made me somewhat doubt his good intentions towards us. On this occasion, I learnt that the officer who had visited me was a person of the highest rank in the city, next to the governor. I asked him whether the Japanese intended to keep us always separately confined? No, answered he, you will hereafter live altogether, and be sent back to your native country. Shall we soon be confined in one place? I continued. Not very soon, replied he. Men in a situation like our's eagerly catch at every word, and form conclusions from all they hear. Had he answered *soon,* I should have looked upon all he had said as mere groundless consolation, but I now firmly believed every word he had uttered.

When the Japanese officer had departed, I turned towards Makaroff. He was much astonished

* I said this, because, in our melancholy situation, I did not wish my unhappy companions to believe that I entertained a higher regard for one than for the others.

at the excellence of my apartment, and viewed with the greatest joy the objects which were to be seen from the window: my dungeon appeared to him a paradise when compared with those in which Mr. Chlebnikoff, Simanoff, Wassiljeff, and Alexei, were confined. His description of them filled me with horror. He told me that they were shut up in small cages, built of thick wooden palings, which were placed near each other in the middle of a large room, so that there were passages on every side. Instead of doors, the only entrance to them was by small apertures, through which the prisoners were obliged to creep. Not a ray of the sun could penetrate these dismal abodes, which were left almost constantly in complete darkness.

What I had heard from the Japanese officer, together with my conversation with Makaroff, in some measure contributed to ease my mind, and in the evening I ate a little supper, which was the first food I had tasted in Chacodade. Here, however, our meals were much worse than those with which we had been furnished on our journey.* In

* Our food in Chacodade was at first extremely bad. It usually consisted of boiled rice, a kind of soup made of warm water with grated radish; a handful of finely chopped young onions with boiled beans; or instead of the onions and beans, two pickled cucumbers or radishes. Instead of the radish soup, we sometimes had puddings made of bean meal with rancid stockfish or whale oil. Perhaps twice in the space of fifty days we

the evening our attendants brought us two round cushions, in form resembling our sofa-cushions, covered with cotton cloth and stuffed with hemp-seed.

On the morning of the 10th of August, the interpreter Kumaddschero informed me, that the governor of the city had signified his wish to see me that day, and that we would all be required to appear before him in the afternoon. At the appointed hour, we were conducted one after the other into the yard of the prison. Here a rope was bound round each of our waists, the end of which was held by one of the Japanese; our hands however remained free. We were placed beside each other in a row. The officer, who had been sent to conduct us, was occupied for a quarter of an hour in arranging the procession, which, at length, started, in the following order.—First, two grey-haired men in the common Japanese dress, bearing staffs, to the ends of which lance-headed axes were affixed: they were followed by three Nambu soldiers with sabres in their girdles. I proceeded next, with an imperial soldier marching by my side, and a Japanese behind me, who held the rope with which I

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were supplied with fish, receiving each the half of a kind of plaice (Pleuronectes), with soy. A meal was served up to us three times every day: in the morning at eight o'clock, at noon, and at four in the afternoon. Our drink usually consisted of warm water, and occasionally bad tea without sugar.

was bound; Mr. Moor, Mr. Chlebnikoff, the sailors, and Alexei, followed in the same order, and the procession was closed by three Nambu soldiers.

We were conducted, at a slow pace, through a long street, which extended from one end of the city to the other. The windows of the houses were crowded with spectators. Here we observed, for the first time, that all the houses had shops attached to them, which were all stocked with various kinds of merchandize. From this street we turned to the left, and ascended a rising ground, on which a castle was situated, surrounded by palisades and an earthen wall. We entered by a gate into a large court yard, in the centre of which we observed a brass cannon, mounted on a two-wheeled carriage of very bad construction. A narrow path led us from this yard into another, where a party of imperial soldiers were stationed. They were seated on mats, and were armed with muskets and bows and arrows. We were then conducted into a space, between two buildings, and directed to seat ourselves on a bench which was covered with matting: the sailors and Alexei seated themselves on mats spread out upon the ground: there we waited for a considerable time. In the meanwhile we were presented with pipes, excellent tobacco, and some fine green tea and brown sugar, with which we were regaled in the name of the governor of the town. This proved a great luxury to those among us who

were fond of smoking, for since our arrival in Chakodade neither pipes nor tobacco had been sent to us.*

Here we had leisure and opportunity to converse with each other. Mr. Chlebnikoff described the place in which he was confined in a manner corresponding with the account previously given by Makaroff. Mr. Moor said he had an apartment similar to mine, with two windows, from which he had a view of several objects.

After waiting more than an hour, I was called into the adjoining building by my name,—CAPTAIN *Choworin!* (for so the Japanese pronounced my name.) Two soldiers, one on each side, conducted me through a large gate, which was shut immediately after us, into an extensive hall. Here I was delivered over to other soldiers. This hall resembled a shed, or barn, as one half of it had no ceiling; and instead of being planked, or paved, had a kind of flooring made with small stones strewed on the ground. The other half of the floor rose three feet from the ground, and was covered with curiously worked straw mats. The hall was

* The guards who were appointed to watch over us in the interior of the prison, and who always stood close to the little cage in which Mr. Moor was confined, suffered that officer to smoke his pipes, which they handed to him through the palisades. They did not however venture to grant this privilege to any of the other prisoners.

from eight to ten fathoms long, of an equal breadth, and eighteen feet high. It was divided from the adjoining chambers by moveable skreens, very neatly painted. There were only two or three apertures for windows, which had wooden frames, with paper instead of panes of glass, and which admitted an obscure, gloomy light. On the right side of that part where the floor was elevated, there hung against the wall, at the height of four feet, several kinds of irons for securing prisoners, ropes, and various instruments of punishment. These were the only ornaments of this hall; which, at first sight, I conceived to be a place of execution, or torture. The governor sat on the floor, in the middle of the elevated platform; behind him were two secretaries, with paper and ink-stands before them. On the left of the governor sat the officer nearest him in authority; and, on his right, the third in command; there was, besides, an officer of inferior rank on each side next to these commanders. They all sat at the distance of two paces from each other, with their legs folded under them. They were in the ordinary black dress of the Japanese, with daggers in their girdles; but each had, also, a large sabre lying on his left side. Two sentinels without any arms sat one on each side, on planks, at the corners of the raised flooring. The interpreter, Kumaddschero, sat on its edge.

The soldiers who received me when I entered

the hall conducted me to the front of the elevation, or platform, I have described, and were about to make me sit down on the stones; but the commandant said something to them, and they allowed me to stand. Mr. Moor was next brought in, and placed on my right. Mr. Chlebnikoff followed, and was placed next to Mr. Moor.* The sailors were then introduced one after the other, and placed in a row behind us. At last came Alexei, who was made to sit down in the same line with us, and near to Mr. Chlebnikoff.

When we were all in the order in which they wished us to be placed, the interpreter, by desire of the governor, pointed to him, and informed us that he was the chief person in authority in the town. We bowed to him, upon which he nodded with his head, and cast down his eyes. After these compliments had passed, he drew from his bosom a paper, to which he referred while he examined us. I was first asked my name and family name,† what

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* The Japanese reckon the left side superior to the right. We remarked their attention to this, in all cases, and were informed by themselves, that they considered that side the post of distinction: they could assign no reason for the preference.

† This question gave us not a little trouble. Alexei, who expressed himself very imperfectly in Russian, asked: "What tail has your name?" (In the Kurile language there is only one word for tail and ending) We could not comprehend what he meant, until at last by a happy thought he explained his meaning by

was my rank, and to what country I belonged. Both secretaries wrote down my answers. The same questions were put to Messrs. Moor, Chlebnikoff, and all the sailors in succession; other questions followed in the same order; namely, how old we were, whether our fathers and mothers were living, what was the name of the father of each of us, whether we had brothers and what number of them, whether we were married and had children, in what towns we were born, how many days journey the places of our birth were distant from Petersburgh, what was the business of each on board of the ship, what we did when on land, and whether the force then entrusted to us was great? All our answers were written down as before. When we had answered the question respecting our birthplace, the Japanese asked how it happened that we should all serve on board the same ship, though we were from different towns? We replied that we did not serve the towns in which we were born, but the whole country and the emperor, and that it was a matter of indifference to us whether we were employed on board the same or different

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an example:—"I am called *Alexei*," said he, "but my name has the tail *Maksimytsch*, what *Ytsch* have you got?" We had great difficulty with other questions, and often, after an hour's explanation with him, we remained just as wise as we were at first.

ships, provided they were Russian. The secretaries did not fail to note down this explanation also. The question which, according to Alexei's interpretation, related to the number of men we commanded on land, gave us, in the result, considerable trouble. The Japanese wished to know exactly how many men were under the orders of each of us. When we stated the number was very different at different times, and depended on circumstances, they still asked what rule was established with respect to these circumstances. In order to get over the difficulty, we made a comparison between our rank and the rank of the army, telling them that a major commanded a batallion, a captain a company. We now believed the affair ended, but I shall have occasion hereafter to notice the vexation which we experienced in consequence of these answers. The next questions related to the names of our ships, their burthen, and the number of cannon they carried. At length the governor desired to be informed whether some change of religion had not taken place in Russia, as Laxman wore a long tail, and had thick hair, which he covered all over with flour, whereas we had our hair cut quite short, and did not put any flour on our heads. On our telling them that with us there was no connexion between religion and the form of the hair, they laughed out loud, and expressed no little surprise that there should be no express

law on this point; they, however, carefully wrote down our answer. Finally, they required that we would relate to them, and trace out on the chart, where we had been since our departure from Petersburgh. For this purpose they produced a chart which had been drawn after the globe constructed by the Russian Academy, in the time of the Empress Catherine. I shewed them our course, and then mentioned the chart which I had destined as a present for the Commandant of Kunaschier, remarking that it was better than the one before me, and had part of our voyage marked upon it. The Japanese replied that they had received no chart from Kunaschier, but that they would shew it to us as soon as they received it; in the mean time the present chart would do for the information they wanted. They not only desired to know every direction in which we had shaped our course, and the period occupied in our navigation, but also the precise time we had spent at each place into which we had put. Our answers and explanations on this, as on all the former topics, were written down; the interpreter being always previously asked whether what we said was correctly translated. As our interpreter was far from being well versed in the languages which he had to explain, and the Japanese required the greatest precision in the answers to their questions, this examination lasted several hours. At last the governor dismissed us, in-

forming us that, if it should be necessary, we would be brought there again, but that, in the mean time, we had no occasion to be uneasy; we should be used well.

Twilight had commenced when we left the castle, from which we were reconducted in the same order as that in which we had arrived. The number of spectators, however, was much greater on our return, which perhaps was owing to the labours of the day being then finished. On entering our prison we were distributed as before, and to each was given, by order of the governor, a cotton night-gown and some sagi. During our absence the Japanese had thrown the passages between Mr. Moor's place of imprisonment and mine into one, and formed a space in the middle for the guard, from which a centinel could see through the railings what either of us might be about. All hope of flight was thus annihilated, but, on the other hand, we obtained the advantage of communicating with each other. I spoke to Mr. Moor, but not in a direct manner, for I turned towards Makaroff, and seemed to be addressing him. Mr. Moor did the same to Schkajeff. This singular mode of conversation lasted only a few days; for having an opportunity to ask the deputy-governor whether we might converse with each other, he replied—"Speak what you please, and as openly as you please." After this permission we might have talked freely, but we took care

to say nothing injurious of the Japanese, lest some person who understood Russian might be within hearing. We were besides afraid to speak much in a language unknown to our guards, as these suspicious people would certainly have reported our doing so to their superiors, and thus have excited new doubts respecting us.

Eighteen days had elapsed since our first audience of the governor; and he had neither required us to attend again, nor intimated what was to be done with us. When we questioned the Japanese on these points, their usual answer was, that they knew nothing of what was intended. During this time, however, we were regularly visited every morning and evening by the city officers or magistrates who happened to be on duty: they brought along with them the physician and the interpreter, and inquired respecting our health, and whether we wanted any thing. Notwithstanding all this attention, the food with which they supplied us was very indifferent. They gave us chiefly a very insipid soup, made of radishes. Mr. Moor was seized with a complaint in his breast, for which the physician ordered him to drink a decoction from several roots and herbs. With respect to diet, he merely advised him to eat as much as possible of whatever was brought to him.* Mr. Moor took this oppor-

* The Japanese physicians pay very little attention to the

tunity of remonstrating against his bad fare, and alleged that the medicine could not operate to advantage with such food. Upon hearing this, the deputy-governor, whose name was Otachi-Koeki, inquired what the Russians ate when they were sick. Whatever the physician prescribes, replied Moor, which is commonly soup made of fowls or chickens. Otachi-Koeki then inquired very particularly in what way this soup was prepared by the Russians, observing, that the Japanese could cook it also. Mr. Moor described it very minutely, and the Japanese officer wrote down his description. It appeared, however, that this was done either from mere curiosity, or for sport, for the chicken soup was never after mentioned, but the old dish was still served up.

This officer was the only Japanese who jested with us. He once promised us beef, butter, and milk, as we told him that the Russians were fond of such food; but some days after he excused himself by saying, with a laugh, that the cows were grazing in the fields. Another time he gave us sagi, and expressed a wish that I would order the seamen to sing and dance, for, he said, when Laxman was in

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regimen of the sick, except to advise them to eat a great deal. The more the patients eat the greater hopes have the physicians; for it is a maxim with them that a good appetite is a certain sign of a speedy recovery.

Japan he had seen a Russian dance, with which he was much pleased. I observed to him that in our situation nothing could induce us to sing and dance; upon which he replied--"Right, right: in such a situation the Japanese also would feel but little inclination to sing or dance."

Besides the orderly officers who visited us at fixed periods, the interpreter Kumaddschero, and the physician Togo, usually spent about six hours in our company daily. They placed various objects before us, and asked the Russian names of them, which they wrote down each in a separate vocabulary. When the one was with us, the other was with Mr. Chlebnikoff. The physician possessed considerable knowledge in geography: he had a very fine globe, made in imitation of a European one, and several manuscript maps of the Japanese possessions, which he often shewed us. He explained every thing respecting which we asked for information, and added his own personal observations on the places which were known to him. The chief trouble which the Japanese, both officers and soldiers, who did duty as guards, gave us, arose from their requests to write on their fans and pieces of paper; but as they always solicited the favour with great courtesy, and never failed to return thanks with very humble reverences, we never refused it. Some, however, imposed so far on our complaisance as to bring us ten or twenty fans at a

time. These tedious labours fell chiefly on Messrs. Moor and Chlebnikoff, as their hand-writing was very fine. The former wrote more than seventy sheets of paper for one of the soldiers; and from their unceasing applications we at length concluded that they must have sold these manuscripts, as articles worthy of being preserved in cabinets of curiosities.* This task was the more laborious, as the officers were always desired to give a translation of what was written. When we translated any thing for them, they carried it to Mr. Chlebnikoff, to compare his translation with our's; and if he wrote any thing, they brought it for the same reason to us. In this way Chlebnikoff was once involved in an embarrassment of no slight nature. One of the officers had, for the third time, asked me to write him something in Russian. In the irritation of the moment I wrote the following words: "The Russians who may hereafter come in force to this place are hereby informed that the Japanese, in a treacherous and cowardly manner, seized seven of their countrymen; and, without any cause, impri-

* The Japanese are great lovers of curiosities; and to collect whatever they consider as such is quite a passion with them. Each of our guards shewed us something which he considered valuable as a rarity. Some of them had, rolled up in several folds of paper, knives, which they had received from Laxman's sailors; others preserved, in the same manner, pieces of our copper money and buttons, or shells, stones, &c.

soned and kept them languishing in dungeons, like the vilest criminals. These unfortunate Russians request that you will take a just vengeance on this faithless people." When the officer asked what this piece of writing meant, I told him it was a Russian song, and desired him to shew it to the next Russians who might come there. He went immediately with it to Mr. Chlebnikoff, who was at first greatly puzzled what to say; but at last thought of telling him that it was a very old song, which could not be easily translated, and thus got over the difficulty.

On the 25th of August, Otachi-Koeki, the deputy-commandant, whom we now seldom saw, and that only on extraordinary occasions, came to us, followed by a large train, and caused mats to be spread in the passage before my apartment. I waited with impatience to see what was to follow. At last, four or five men appeared, bearing on their shoulders my chest, which used to stand in the cabin of our vessel; the portmanteaus of Messrs. Moor and Chlebnikoff, and some bundles. I was thunderstruck at the sight of these things. How could the Japanese have got possession of them? Had they taken the *Diana*, or had she been wrecked on the coast? With much effort, and in broken accents, I answered their questions respecting the ownership of these articles. We, however, soon learned that the *Diana* had sent them on shore

before leaving Kunaschier. That information tranquillized me. Now, thought I, my companions will return to Russia, and our fate will not remain unknown.

After the Japanese had written down what I said respecting these things, they proceeded to question my companions. The articles consisted of some clothes and linen, which my successor in command, Lieutenant Rikord, thought necessary to send on shore, and which ultimately proved of great use to us, though at first the Japanese would not deliver any of them.

This day was doubly memorable to me.—First, on account of the great surprise and alarm which the appearance of our baggage occasioned; and secondly, because the want of paper and ink, or any thing on which I could note down the events in which we were interested, induced me to fall on the following singular method of keeping a journal. When any thing happened which was agreeable to us, I tied a knot on a white thread, which I drew out of the frill of my shirt: when any unpleasant event occurred, I made a memorandum of it by tying a knot on a thread of black silk, taken out of my neck-handkerchief. With regard to other circumstances which, though remarkable, had occasioned us neither joy nor sorrow, I recorded them by knots on a thread of green silk, which I extracted from the lining of my uniform coat. Often did I

count over these knots, and recall to my mind the events they served to denote.

About this time the soldiers told Mr. Moor, as a secret, that we should not remain much longer in Chakodade. This appeared to us very improbable; as, from every thing we had observed, we were persuaded that we were likely to continue a long time in our present quarters. In the first place, the Japanese had given us new wadded night-gowns, which they use for sleeping in instead of coverlets, but which they seldom carry with them on journies. Secondly, we had learned that soon after our arrival, they had constructed sentry boxes at different parts of the fence which surrounded our prison, and had besides made several changes in the internal arrangements of the building.

On the morning of the 28th of August, we were, for the second time, carried before the governor, in the same order and in the some manner as on the former occasion. We were seated in the same place in the castle, and conducted, as before, into the court hall. The number of the officers was the same, except that the governor was not seated when we first entered; but in about ten minutes after he came forth from behind a screen. After he had taken his place, he drew some sheets of manuscript from his bosom, and laid them before him. Having read over our names, he ordered the interpreter to inform us that our former examination had been

sent to the Viceroy or Governor of Matsmai,* who had given orders for the strictest investigation of our case. It was therefore required that we should circumstantially and truly answer all the questions that might now be put to us, and neither conceal nor misrepresent any thing whatever. We replied that we had no reason to conceal any thing from the Japanese, and would readily give them every information in our power.

The questions were chiefly a repetition of the former, but they were put with so little regard to order or connection that we could with great difficulty recollect the manner in which they followed each other. There were besides so many new questions, and they were altogether so numerous, that it was impossible to retain them, as we had no ink and paper wherewith to make memorandums. In general these queries related to the conduct of Resanoff, on his return from Japan, and the attacks made by Chwostoff's ships on their villages.

In our answers we gave an account of Resanoff's arrival at Kamtschatka, his subsequent voyage to the American Company's factories and California, his return to Okotzk, and his death at Krasnojarsk,

* As this officer commanded the Kurile Islands and Sagaleen his rank seemed to correspond with that of the governor of a province in Europe. The Japanese, when they spoke with reverence of him, called him *Obunyo*, or more commonly *Bunyo*, or *Bunyosso*.

on his way to Petersburgh. "I have heard," I observed, "that our sovereign was very much dissatisfied with the proceedings of Resanoff in Japan: but that, on the other hand, Resanoff had represented the conduct of the Japanese as having been bad towards him. The vessels which committed the depredations complained of were merchantmen, and their crews were not in the emperor's service. The attacks originated with the individuals themselves, whose only object must have been plunder, as they believed that the complaints of the Japanese never could reach our government; and the Japanese had themselves to blame for the prevalence of that impression, as they had declared to Resanoff that they would have nothing to do with the Russians. The two Japanese who had been carried off were set at liberty on their arrival at Okotzk; but they fled from that place in a boat; and it was not known what had become of them. Every thing which had been taken from the Japanese was put under sequestration by the Russian Commandant of Okotzk. The ships were embargoed, and the captains imprisoned; though they afterwards got out of prison: the investigation of their offence still proceeded, but in the mean time they died."

The Japanese desired us to state their names; and were much surprised when we called them Chwostoff and Davydoff. They immediately asked

whether these were the same persons who had been known to them under the names of Nicola-Sandrijetsch (Nicolai Alexandrovitsch) and Govrilo-Ivanotsch (Gavrilo-Ivanovitsch.) We, on our part, were no less surprised to find that the Japanese knew the christian names of these persons and not their surnames; and at first concluded that they must have learnt them from the two men who fled to the island of Eetooroop, to avoid the threatened vengeance of Chwostoff. But in that case the Japanese must have known their surnames also. We were perfectly well acquainted with them, though we did not chuse to say so; and merely observed, that we knew them only by the names of Chwostoff and Davydoff. We feared lest the Japanese might have been informed of our custom of using the christian names, in speaking of persons of distinction and intimate friends. Had they suspected that we knew any thing of Chwostoff and Davydoff, there would have been no end to their interrogatories: they would have inquired who were their parents, where they had been born, how old they were, what kind of characters they bore, what professions they followed, and a thousand other things. In order to rid ourselves of so tedious and tormenting an examination, we said that we knew them only by report. Though the Japanese did not absolutely deny our assertion, yet they were far from giving credit to what we said; and seemed still to retain their

first notion, that Nicola-Sandrejetsch and Chwostoff were not the same individual.

They eagerly inquired why after the first attack had been made upon them, a second had been permitted. We replied, that we knew nothing of this matter, but supposed that this expedition had either been kept a secret from the commandant of Kamtschatka, or that he had been informed that such proceedings had been adopted in consequence of an order from the government, with which he was unacquainted, and that without making further inquiries he had given credit to this account. But the Japanese were not to be satisfied with this: they suspected that some of our party had been attached to the expedition, or had at least been in Kamtschatka at the period of its departure. They accordingly questioned us with the utmost minuteness respecting our voyage from Cronstadt to the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, and compared the time of our arrival there with the period at which their coasts had been plundered. From what fell from them, they seemed likewise to suspect that we had not sailed from Petersburgh until after Resanoff had arrived there, and had informed the government of the failure of the embassy. They inquired for what reason we had been sent to so distant a place; and asked many questions which appeared to us extremely ludicrous, considering the advanced state of the science of navigation in Europe;

such as, how could we possibly remain so long at sea, without getting a fresh supply of provisions and wood and water from some harbour—how the Russians could build such large vessels, in which they were enabled to sail about in the open ocean for so long a time—for what reason had we cannon and arms on board with us—why we sailed in the middle of the ocean instead of steering along the coast from Petersburgh to Kamtschatka. The real object of our mission, namely, the survey and description of unknown coasts, as I have before observed, we thought it prudent to conceal, in order to avoid creating suspicion. We said therefore, that we were proceeding to Kamtschatka with government stores, which were wanted at that place.

Whilst they were thus interrogating us respecting our voyage, they did not fail to inquire, under the semblance of mere curiosity, the distances between Kamtschatka and Okotzk, Okotzk and Irkutzk, and Irkutzk and St. Petersburgh; and what time the post or travellers usually occupied in proceeding from one place to the other. But we plainly perceived that the real object of all their inquiries was to ascertain whether Resanoff had arrived at Petersburgh before our departure. For the same motive they questioned us respecting the return of the vessel in which Resanoff had been sent to them, and whether it was true that it sailed back

to Petersburgh without him, and that he had remained in Kamtschatka, and gone in another ship to America.

In consequence of the smallness of the territory of Japan, and its separation from the rest of the world, every communication with foreigners interests the whole country, and is regarded as a great and important event, which ought to be handed down to the latest posterity. The Japanese were, therefore, of opinion, that not only Russia, but all Europe, must be informed of the attack of Chwostoff. For this reason, they did not credit what we told them; and insinuated that we could, if we pleased, give them more minute information concerning the property that had been taken from them, their countrymen who were carried off, &c. Their doubts and extraordinary questions so irritated us, that we sometimes asked them how they could suppose, that an insignificant spot like Japan, the existence of which was not even known to many of the inhabitants of Europe, could engross the attention of every enlightened nation; or that each minute circumstance attending the plundering of a few of their villages by two obscure merchant vessels must necessarily be well known; adding, that they ought to be satisfied with our assurance, that the attack was made upon them contrary to the will of the emperor. At this they usually laughed, instead of feeling in the least offended. They are

endowed with a most extraordinary degree of patience. Every question was twice or thrice repeated, and the interpreter was incessantly desired to note every thing down with the utmost exactness: indeed, they were frequently occupied for more than an hour about a single question. But they never testified the slightest dissatisfaction; and, as usual, by way of relaxation, frequently put questions of an apparently trifling nature; such, for example, as, "Whose office is it on board the Russian vessels to foretell the state of the wind and weather?" When we replied, that this task was not allotted to any particular officer, but that it was part of the duty of the commander of the ship, they were not a little astonished; for, with them, a boat never puts to sea without having a *prophet of the weather* on board.

Our examination lasted until evening: we were, however, permitted to partake of refreshments at two different times. Our repast was brought to us by our attendants, and consisted of boiled rice, and herrings dried in the open air; and, by way of dessert, a tea-cup full of sagi, which is the wine of the Japanese. We were likewise regaled with tobacco for smoking, and tea with sugar, which in Japan is regarded as a high luxury. In the evening we quitted the castle, and returned to our prison, where we found every thing just as we had left it.

On the following morning, the 29th of August, we were again conducted into the presence of the governor, being escorted and introduced in exactly the same form as before. When we had entered the hall, and the governor had taken his place, he drew from his bosom several pieces of paper, which he delivered to Otachi-Koeki: the latter handed them to the officers who were sitting near him, and they gave them to Kumaddschero, who unfolded one of them, and, by order of the commander, gave it to us to read. We immediately cast our eyes on the signatures of the officers whom we had left behind us on board the *Diana*. This unexpected sight plunged us into the deepest distress. We reflected on our former situation, and that in which we then were, and concluded that this letter was probably the last farewell of friends with whom we had served so long, and whom we should probably never see again: we were unable to repress our tears. Mr. Moor was most of all affected; he threw himself upon his knees, pressed the letter to his lips, and wept bitterly. The Japanese observed us with great attention: they scarcely ever turned their eyes from us; and all, except Otachi-Koeki, seemed deeply moved. Some even shed tears, which they endeavoured to conceal; but Otachi-Koeki laughed at our emotion. The contents of the letter were as follows:

"Heaven knows whether these lines will ever "reach you, or whether you are yet in existence.— "At first, all the officers on board resolved to adopt "pacific measures to obtain your liberation; but "whilst we were deliberating what course to pur- "sue, a ball past over us, and fell into the water, at "a considerable distance astern of the sloop. I "immediately gave orders to return the fire of the "castle. But what was to be done? How were "we to act? Our guns were so light that they "could be of little service to us; the shallowness "of the water prevented us from approaching nearer "the land; and the small number of our crew pre- "cluded all idea of debarkation. We, therefore, "wish to inform you that we have adopted the last "resource. We will sail back to Okotzk, and if "the number of our crew be increased will return, "and never quit the coasts of Japan until we have "obtained your liberation, or sacrifice our lives for "our beloved captain and faithful friends. Should "the Japanese permit you to answer this letter, "pray write to us. We are bound to obey all the or- "ders of our commander. Every man on board the "sloop is ready to lay down his life for your sake."

"Until death,

"Your's faithfully,

"PETER RIKORD,

"*July* 11*th*, 1811." "ILJA RUDAKOFF, &c."

Having read this letter several times over, the Japanese desired us to translate it. We complied with their order, though we judged it prudent not to give a faithful explanation of many of the passages it contained. According to our translation, the firing of the sloop was merely an act of self-defence, and not done with a view to injure the Japanese, who had fired from their castle: the small calibre of the guns we construed into a deficiency of shot; and we made it appear that the idea of landing proceeded merely from a wish to surround us, and prevent the Japanese from carrying us off, but that for this purpose there were too few men on board the sloop. Instead of saying any thing about the obtaining of a reinforcement at Okotzk, we explained that part of the letter by saying, that our friends had returned to request permission to proceed against the Japanese, as they could not attack them without the consent of the Russian government.

Upwards of an hour elapsed before we could render every thing clear and satisfactory to the Japanese. They then asked me what answer I should send to that letter, provided I were permitted to write. I replied, that I should advise the officers on board the sloop not to proceed to any act of violence, but to return immediately to Russia, to inform our government of the circumstance.

As the letter furnished no ground for further

interrogatories, they proceeded to other subjects, many of which had been discussed at large on the preceding day. They examined us as before, without either regularity or connexion, and frequently referred to matters of the most trifling nature. The principal questions which were put to us had for their object to ascertain whether we were acquainted with what had passed on the embassies of Laxman and Resanoff. In particular they asked, why we had approached their coasts, since the Japanese had prohibited the Russians to do so, and had informed Resanoff that their laws required them to burn all foreign vessels, excepting such as entered the harbour of Nangasaky, and to place their crews in eternal imprisonment.

We answered, that all we knew respecting the embassy of Laxman, and the answer given to him, as well as those afterwards received by Resanoff, were communicated to us merely by public report. We had indeed heard, that the Japanese would not permit Russian vessels to enter their harbours for the purpose of trading, but that we never imagined this prohibition extended to vessels, the crews of which were suffering from want, as the rudest and most barbarous nations never withheld assistance from suffering navigators, or refused them a place of refuge. Want of provisions, I added, had alone compelled us to land on their shores. That some Japanese officers, whom we accidentally met with,

had furnished us with a letter, and had assured us that their countrymen in Oorbeetsch would afford us assistance; contrary winds had, however, obliged us to put into Kunashier, where we had endeavoured, by every possible means, to convince the Japanese of our distressed situation and our peaceable intentions, and that the remainder of our story was known to them.

They, however, expressed a wish that we should relate to them in succession every circumstance which had occurred to us since our first communication with their countrymen on the island of Eetooroop, up to the moment when we were made prisoners at Kunashier. On this occasion we observed the dissimulation of the Japanese: they pretended that all we said was entirely new to them, and affected particular surprise that the commander of Kunashier should not immediately have returned the cask and the goods which were sent ashore. They asked whither we were sailing when we experienced a want of provisions, and required us to point out the spot upon the map. We complied with their wish, and explained the object of our voyage in a way corresponding with what we had previously stated.

They asked us several questions totally unconnected with the main object; for example, concerning the inhabitants of Denmark, England, and

other countries which we had visited; in what parts of Russia ships were built; what kind of wood was used in constructing them; and, how quickly they could be completed, &c. Under pretence of mere curiosity, they asked us the extent of our land and sea forces. We thought it advisable to give an exaggerated account of both. We increased the number of fortresses and their garrisons in Siberia, and distributed at pleasure numerous fleets in the harbours of the coast of Okotzk, in Kamtschatka, and on the north-western coast of America. Among other things, we accidentally said that there was a considerable naval force in the harbour of St. Peter and Paul; and when the Japanese inquired how many ships were there, unfortunately for ourselves, as will hereafter appear, we fixed upon the number *seven*.

The conference lasted until evening. We were frequently taken out of the hall for relaxation or refreshment; and sagi, tobacco, and tea, were brought into the court-yard to us. In the evening we were re-conducted to the place of our confinement, with the usual ceremonies.

On the two following days we underwent no examination; but we observed that the Japanese treated us much more kindly than before. They provided the sailors with warm water, and permitted them to wash their own and our linen in the

lobby.* They gave us several articles from the trunks, which had been sent ashore, and at our request furnished the sailors with a change of linen. A large pail was filled with warm water, in which we were directed to wash both hands and face.† Several of the orderly officers, by whom we were visited at certain hours, regaled us with good tea, sugar, fruit, sagi, &c. One in particular, named Ossagava-Rakaemo, was extremely kind, and never quitted us without saying something consolatory, and even giving us a present. We afterwards learnt that his brother had been lost on board of

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* Since the first day of our imprisonment, the Japanese had only once washed our shirts, and that without soap. It may easily be conceived in what state they were, and that to obtain permission to wash them was no trifling favour.

† The water in the pail, which was extremely large, was heated by means of a copper pipe, communicating with a kind of stove. I washed first, and the rest were obliged to make use of the same water. This was not a little vexatious. We looked upon such treatment as below what was due even to common criminals. We were, however, soon set at ease on this particular; for, to our great astonishment, after we had all finished washing, some of the imperial soldiers, by whom we were guarded, very contentedly followed our example, and washed themselves in the same water. These soldiers, as I have before observed, are held in the utmost respect in Japan. It is, therefore, evident, that the Japanese entertain no disgust or horror of Christians; and do not, like other Asiatics, regard them as unclean.

a vessel some time before. The idea that he might, probably, be doomed to suffer a fate similar to our's, in some distant land, induced him to sympathize with us, and pay particular attention to our wants.

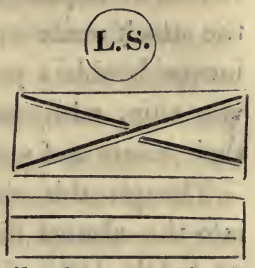
Notwithstanding all this good fortune, we, however, learnt from the Japanese a piece of news, which again plunged us into despair. On the morning of the 31st of August, during the usual visit of the orderly officers, the physician, and interpreter, the latter said something to Mr. Moor, which I did not distinctly understand, and at the same time delivered a paper to him. Mr. Moor glanced over the paper, laughed, and said it was all a fraud; but, immediately turning to me, he exclaimed, in a faltering voice, and with great agitation, "Wassily Michailovitsch! hear this," and read as follows:—

"In the year 1806, the 12th (24) of October, "Lieutenant Chwostoff, commander of the frigate "*Juno*, distributed to the chief of the villages on "the western coast of the Bay of Aniva a silver "medal and ribbond of Wladimir, as a token of the "Russian Emperor, Alexander I. having taken pos-"session of the Island of Sagaleen, and placed its "inhabitants under his gracious protection.—I "therefore request the commanders of all vessels, "either Russian or foreign, which may hereafter

" visit Japan, to regard the said chief as a Russian " subject.

Signed CHWOSTOFF.
" Lieutenant of the Russian Fleet."

" I here affix as a seal, the arms of my family."



Our embarrassment may easily be conceived. How could we now hope that the Japanese would give credit to any thing we told them. We knew that their government was extremely cautious and circumspect with regard to all public proceedings; that the execution of all measures was watched with the utmost care and attention; that every misdemeanour was punished with severity, and even with cruelty; and that they judged of the laws of other countries by those of their own. Could we expect by mere words to convince such a government that an obscure individual like Chwostoff, would, without any authority, have had the audacity to issue a proclamation, declaring that a country under the dominion of a foreign state was to become a dependency of the crown of Russia; to distribute among a half barbarous people medals bearing the likeness of his sovereign, and to describe a mere merchantman as a Russian frigate.

This document had convinced the Japanese that Chwostoff had fulfilled the orders of our monarch; they of course could regard us only as spies, who wished to impose on their credulity, by attributing the attack made upon them to the hardihood of so inconsiderable a person as the commander of a private ship, while our real object was to reconnoitre their coasts and garrisons.

Though this unexpected occurrence threw us into the utmost distress, we did not lose courage: we boldly declared to the Japanese that they might instantly put us to death, if they disbelieved what we stated. We told them that we entertained no fear of death; that the truth would sooner or later come to light; that then they would reproach themselves for their distrust, and lament our fate when it would be too late; and that we only regretted they should entertain such an opinion of our government. We asked them how they could suppose that the monarch of a great and powerful empire like Russia, should find it necessary to send a handful of men to burn and pillage villages, for the sake of placing a desert country under his dominion; and by what means—by distributing medals bearing his likeness, and proclamations signed by the captain of a merchant vessel, among people who were unable to form any notion of the meaning of these things. To suppose this would be equally ridiculous, as to lay to the charge of

the Emperor of Japan any similar proceedings, which might be committed by Japanese vessels on our Kurile Islands.

The Japanese listened to our explanation with the utmost attention: and answered *yes* to all our observations; they, however, seemed to smile within themselves, and to place but little reliance on any thing we said. They wished to be informed of the precise meaning of the paper, from whence Chwostoff had brought the medals, and whether he was really the same individual as Nicola-Sandrejetsch. Whilst we translated the proclamation, we found it necessary to assure the Japanese, that a Russian frigate signified a merchantman, as well as a ship of war in the Russian navy. For the ribbond of Wladimir we substituted the words striped ribbond, for we well knew the disposition of our interrogators. Had we called the thing by its right name, we should have been tormented with questions for five or six hours at least. We must have told them who created the order, and for what purpose it had been instituted; who Wladimir was, at what period he reigned, by what deeds he had distinguished himself, why the order had been named after him; whether there were any other orders of knighthood in Russia, and what privileges were attached to them; in a word, we must have related to them the history and the statutes of all our orders. The word *striped*, however, at once removed all these difficul-

ties. With regard to the medals, we told them that in Russia none were permitted to wear medals except those who received them from the hands of the emperor: that silver medals were distributed as rewards to soldiers who had distinguished themselves in battle, and that they were usually sold after the death of the possessor. We knew not whether Chwostoff had purchased these medals, or whether he had procured them from some of his seamen, who might have received them whilst they were in the imperial service. We moreover assured them, that the vessel by which they had been attacked, was commanded by Lieutenant Chwostoff, who was in the service of the American Company, and that he was perhaps the same person who had been known to them by the name of Nicola-Sandrejetsch.

Having given these answers, the Japanese suffered us to depart; but on the following morning, the 1st of September, we were again carried before the governor with the usual ceremony. It rained, and an attendant walked by the side of each of us, holding umbrellas over our heads.

This was a mark of attention which the Japanese never failed to observe whenever they brought us out in rainy weather. We were again interrogated concerning Chwostoff's proclamation and the medals he had distributed, and our explanation was the same as that which we had given on the preceding

day. They inquired what was meant by the drawings of flags, which were made at the bottom of the letter. We replied that one of those drawings represented the flag which was borne by the imperial ships of war, and that the other was merely the flag of a merchant vessel: for what reason they had been sketched on the paper in question we knew not, but supposed that Chwostoff wished by this means to mark the difference between a Russian ship of war and a merchantman. The Japanese, however, entertained a very different opinion: they asked us whether both the flags were not borne by imperial vessels, and whether the one was not hoisted to indicate hostile intentions, and the other to shew that a vessel was proceeding for the purpose of trade.* We assured them that in Europe ships of war were never in the habit of trading. They then inquired why Chwostoff had hoisted the flag of war when he visited their coasts. We replied that in so remote a part of the world, where his conduct could not be observed, he had presumed to display

* The notion entertained by the Japanese that trade was carried on by ships of war was not at all surprising, for with them all foreign trade with the Dutch, Chinese, Coreans, and the inhabitants of the Likeo Islands, is monopolized by the emperor. He purchases all the goods which arrive at Japan, and sends them in his ships to the different harbours of his territories, and sells the cargoes either in lots, or in the gross, to the local merchant.

the standard, which is only unfurled in the presence of our emperor. On making this unthinking reply, we were tormented with questions for full two hours: they inquired respecting the shape and size of the flag, what were the figures and colours it exhibited, on what occasions it was displayed, whether the emperor frequently inspected the fleets, &c.

During their inquiries respecting Chwostoff's proclamation, the Japanese frequently asked us questions on other particulars; and seemed greatly alarmed about two small copper-plates which we had left behind us at Eetooroop and Kunashier; on the former island, we gave one of these plates to the Japanese commander himself, and we left the other behind us in a village in Kunashier. On these plates was the following Latin inscription, as also the same in Russian:

Navis. Imperialis. Russica. Diana.
An. Dom. 1811.

We stated that we left these tablets upon every island that we passed through, even on those which were uninhabited, where we hung them upon the trees, that, in case of shipwreck, it might be known where we had been, and, consequently, near what place the misfortune had occurred; but the Japanese were far from being satisfied with this story. In the first place, they wished to know the meaning of the inscription, and required that we should explain every individual word: they set down each

word as we translated it, hoping by this means to detect us in some inconsistency. They then observed, that they had heard from the Dutch, in Nangasaky, that Europeans left such tablets on islands which they wished to subject to their dominion, and inquired whether we entertained that intention. We replied, that in such a case, Europeans would use a very different inscription; but this did not seem to satisfy them: we plainly saw that they did not believe us, and that they even doubted whether we had given them a correct translation of the inscription.

During the whole day, the Japanese were occupied in examining us concerning Chwostoff's proclamation and our tablets. According to custom, they put many ridiculous questions to us; such as, how many ships of war and merchantmen are there in Russia, and the whole of Europe; what number of harbours are there in Russia, and in other countries. It was late in the evening when we were sent back to the castle.

When we were conducted from the Hall of Justice into the court-yard, for the purpose of partaking of refreshment, we found opportunities of discoursing and communicating our thoughts to each other. Our situation was, indeed, none of the best, and we looked upon it as next to impossible to make it appear that Chwostoff's proclamation was a spurious document. The Japanese, of course, could only

look upon us as spies; and, in that case, death, or what was still more dreadful, eternal imprisonment awaited us. Flight was our only resource: but how was that to be effected. We were confined separately; and, therefore, could not escape all at once. In despair, we often contemplated the possibility of forcing our way through the guard, which conducted us in the evening from the castle: but, besides our strong escort, we were always surrounded by a multitude of spectators, so immense, that all chance of escape was hopeless. There remained, then, no alternative, but to wait until we should be all confined together, and then to deliberate, in concert, on the means of our deliverance.

The second or third day after, while the civil officer, the physician, and the interpreter, were paying their usual morning visit to Mr. Moor, and making inquiries respecting Russian words, Alexei walked several times through the passage, close to the palisades of my apartment, looked at me, then at the Japanese attendants, and appeared to have some secret to communicate to me. When I spoke to him, he did not answer. At last, seizing a favourable opportunity, he cast some paper, rolled up, through the palisades. I immediately placed my foot upon it, and remained standing in that position till the Japanese left us. On taking it up, I found wrapt up within several pieces of paper, an iron nail, and a card, on which some words were scratched

with the nail. The writing was by Mr. Chlebnikoff; but, though it consisted of several lines, I could only make out the following words:—

"God—Hope—the Kamtschatdale Isprawnik, Lamakin—Alexei, the Kurile—be cautious"—and a few others. I could not comprehend what this card meant. If Chlebnikoff had written any thing respecting our present situation, what connexion could this Lamakin, of whom I knew nothing, have with it. I was afraid that confinement had bereaved him of his understanding, and the idea gave me great pain.

In the evening, when Alexei again came to us, I asked him whether Mr. Chlebnikoff had not lost his senses, and what was meant by the words on the card, which I could not decipher. You will soon know ll, replied he, and immediately departed, leaving us in a state of painful uncertainty. I communicated every thing to Mr. Moor, but could not gain an opportunity of sending the card to him: he was equally unable to comprehend what part this Lamakin was playing between the Japanese and us.

On the 4th of September, we were again conducted to the castle: we had to wait in the court-yard until the governor gave orders for our entrance; and, in the meanwhile, we were indulged with the permission of smoking tobacco. Here we had an opportunity of conversing together; and Mr. Chleb-

nikoff communicated to us a secret, with which Alexei had acquainted him. He told us, that Alexei, and some of his countrymen, had, about a year before, been seized by the Japanese; and, on being asked for what reason they had visited Japan, instead of the romantic story which they had related to us on board the *Diana*, the Kuriles replied, that they had been sent by the Kamtschatdale Isprawnik, to inspect the Japanese villages and garrisons. On being asked what was the object of their examination, they answered, that in the following year,* seven vessels† from the harbour of Petropaulowskoi would visit the Japanese Islands, four proceeding to Matsmai, and three to Eetooroop, with the same design with which Chwostoff had approached them. The Kuriles said this with the view of averting danger from themselves, by making the Japanese believe that they had been forced to come among them by the Russians; and Alexei had entreated Mr. Chlebnikoff to persuade us to declare that they had really been dispatched by Lamakin.

Our situation may be easily imagined. The arrival of the Kuriles for the purpose of converting Japanese subjects to the Christian Faith, Chwostoff's

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* The very period at which we approached the coasts of Japan, as it were in confirmation of the prediction of the Kuriles.

† The reader will recollect, that chance led us to fix upon the number seven, when we were questioned concerning the number of vessels in the harbour of Petropaulowskoi.

attack, the medals, and proclamations, and, finally, the declaration of the Kuriles, all tended to convince the Japanese that we sought to deceive them. Our only means of exculpation was, to assure them, that if the Emperor of Russia had wished to declare war against the Japanese, he would have sent more than two ships for that purpose. It was to be feared, however, that the Japanese might attribute the trifling character of the enterprise to ill-digested plans on the part of our government, or to deficiency of means in the Russian provinces opposite their coasts; descriptions of the state of which must have been given to them by their countrymen, who had travelled through Siberia to Petersburgh. But Alexei was the most formidable proof against us. I have already observed, that he wished us to confirm the tale which he and his countrymen had invented; that is to say, to criminate ourselves, and to do all we could to justify him, who was alone guilty. We were persuaded that he would insist on the truth of his assertion, and endeavour, by all the means in his power, to fix the offence on us. But to have apparently assented to his request would have emboldened him; and knowing that a severe punishment awaited him on his return to Russia, he would, of course, place every obstacle in the way of our liberation. Besides, we could not, for evident reasons, consent to bear testimony to the truth of his false declaration; we therefore told

him, in as friendly a manner as possible, that we could in no way comply with his wish; and that all solicitation for that purpose would be fruitless. To this Alexei made no reply, and we now began to regard him as a dangerous and irreconcilable enemy.

When we were again conducted into the presence of the governor, he asked whether it was true that the Kamtschatdale Isprawnik had sent Kuriles to inspect the Japanese villages and fortifications. We replied that we had never heard of such a proceeding, and that we looked upon it as impossible; upon which they addressed themselves to Alexei; but we could neither understand their questions nor his answers. After having asked us many trifling questions, they conducted us back to our prison. Alexei however was detained, and remained a long time behind us. When he at length joined us in the prison, we asked him about what the Japanese had been discoursing with him; he answered drily, "About my old affair." After this he was twice carried alone before the governor, but he always refused to tell us what had passed between the Japanese and him.

Among a number of silly questions which were put to us in our last examination, I shall mention one, as it led to an explanation which shews the severe character of the Japanese morality and the strictness of their laws. They asked us why we had carried off wood and rice from the coast with-

out the consent of the owners of those articles. We replied that they had doubtless been informed, by the report of the Commandant of Kunashier, that we had employed every means of making ourselves understood; he, however, had ordered all the troops to retire into the garrison; the villages on the coast were deserted, and whenever we attempted to approach the castle, cannon were fired upon us. The hope which the letter of the Japanese officer at Eetooroop afforded of obtaining through it a supply of every article we stood in need of, induced us to neglect sailing back to the Russian coast, which we should have immediately done had we not received that letter. During the long period our vessel had remained at sea, our stock of provisions had become exhausted; and for this reason, having no other object in holding intercourse with the Japanese, we carried off a small quantity of rice and wood, in payment for which we left various European articles behind us. That we had moreover deposited silver coins in the cask; and that when a correspondence was opened on the part of the Japanese, we ourselves proceeded to the castle to pay such price as they might fix upon the articles we had carried away. We were now asked whether any law existed in Europe, which, under such circumstances, would authorize us to seize the property of strangers. I replied that there was indeed no particular law to that effect; but that if a man in a state of starvation

chanced to meet with deserted habitations, and took from thence what was necessary to support his existence, he would not be declared guilty under any European law; particularly if he left behind him articles equal in value to those which he took away. With us, replied the Japanese, it is very different; our laws ordain that a man must sooner die of hunger, than touch, without the consent of the owner, a single grain of rice which does not belong to him.

To the honour of the Japanese, I must observe that they always questioned us with the utmost civility and politeness: they frequently laughed with an air of good humour, and endeavoured to render our examinations more like discourse between intimate friends than formal and official investigations.

On the 5th of September we were conducted to the governor of Chakodade, for the last time. The whole of the forenoon was occupied in asking us questions which we had previously answered, and very minute inquiries were made respecting the seven Japanese who had been saved on the coast of Kamtschatka. We described to them the spot on which the vessel had been wrecked, mentioned the time at which the event had taken place, how many individuals had been saved, and that they were at Nischny-Kamtschatsk at the period of our departure. Mr. Moor had seen them there, though the dread of being tormented by a thousand questions deterred him from saying so.

In the afternoon we sat a long time in the court-yard, drinking tea and smoking tobacco. The interpreter Kumaddschero went continually backwards and forwards, asking us Russian words, which he wrote down. We were at length conducted into the hall. Here one of the officers, a grey-haired man, apparently about seventy years of age, who in Laxman's time had been employed in compiling a Russian dictionary, unrolled a large sheet of paper, filled with Japanese characters, which he began to read in a style which very much resembled singing. We were totally unable to comprehend the first ten or twenty words; but we at length discovered that he fancied he was reading Russian, and from some of the words conjectured that the paper contained an account of our affair, translated into Russian. We could not refrain from laughing, and told the Japanese that we understood only a few words here and there: upon which they all laughed heartily, not excepting the translator, who laid the paper aside. The governor now took leave of us, and we left the castle.

The Japanese, particularly those who were appointed our guards, continued to treat us with increasing kindness. They even several times permitted Mr. Moor to go out of his chamber for the purpose of warming himself at the fire in the lobby.* On these occasions he sometimes stepped

* At the latter end of August the mornings and evenings

up to my palisades, when we found an opportunity of making communications to each other which we could not speak aloud, as several of our guards, who had been in Russia, understood something of our language. With respect to our food, however, it was no better than before, though we many times sent it away without tasting it. One day Mr. Moor made an effort to speak Japanese to Kumaddschero, and told him that we had been treated like dogs: he contrived to make himself intelligible, and Kumaddschero told him he ought not to vex himself on that head, and at the same time advised him to speak with more caution in future; observing, that if his complaint had been heard by any except himself, it might have been attended with serious consequences.

In the meanwhile we continued in the utmost uncertainty with respect to the way in which the Japanese government might regard our answers and declarations, and how it was intended to dispose of us. A severe destiny seemed indeed to await us; for celestial phenomena conspired with an unfortunate concurrence of earthly events to produce unfavourable impressions against us. About this time a comet made its appearance. We wished

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were extremely cold. Mr. Moor, who was unwell, complained of a cold; and the Japanese, every morning and evening, kindled a fire in a moveable grate, which stood in the lobby opposite to his cage.

to know whether the Japanese had any notion of the nature of that heavenly body, and put some questions to them on the subject. From the answers of those with whom we conversed, it was evident that they knew nothing about comets, except that they were seldom visible. We then wished to ascertain whether the Japanese, like other Asiatic nations, regarded comets as the usual forerunners of unfortunate events; for, had this been the case, it was possible that their superstition might have had favourable consequences for us: they might, perhaps, have regarded the comet as the harbinger of Heaven's vengeance for their unjust and cruel conduct towards us; but when we inquired whether they did not regard these planets as prognosticating certain events, they replied, to our no small mortification, that the same year (1807) in which Chwostoff had visited them, a comet, similar to that which appeared on our arrival, was visible in the heavens.

On the 13th of September, the officer next in rank to the governor told us that he had received orders, on the approach of the cold weather, to provide us with some warm clothing, from the trunks which had been sent on shore from the sloop at Kunashier, and asked us what we were accustomed to wear. At my request, I was immediately furnished with my mantle, a warm waistcoat, a shirt, a cap, some stockings, and pocket-handker-

chiefs; and my companions received whatever articles they required.

I have already observed, that the Japanese agreed to let the sailors be with us by turns. On the 31st of August Wassiljeff was sent to Mr. Moor, and Schkajeff was shut up alone; but on the 23d of September, Makaroff, who had before been with me, was relieved by Schkajeff. The latter communicated to me two unexpected pieces of information. First, that Simanoff, through some oversight of the Japanese, had gained possession of a large knife. It appeared that he had fastened this knife, by a leather strap, to one of the button-holes of his jacket, which is a custom among our sailors, lest they should lose their knives when using them on the masts or yards. This jacket had been sent from the sloop, and was given to him, although the strap could scarcely fail to be noticed. We were much astonished that this strap should have escaped the rigid and circumspect vigilance of the Japanese; particularly when they carried their caution so far as not to suffer us to have a pair of scissars to cut our nails with; and we were obliged to thrust our hands through the palisades to get the soldiers to perform that office for us. We were never once suffered to have needles in our possession; and our clothes were always mended by the guards who attended us. I was overjoyed at this accident, as I hoped that, in course of time, the knife might be

made useful to us; and I took the first opportunity of desiring Simanoff to preserve it like a treasure. Secondly, Schkajeff informed me that the soldiers had been hinting something about our departure for Matsmai, and that the old litters were already brought into the court-yard. On the following morning this story was confirmed by the Japanese officers themselves, who formally acquainted us that we must hold ourselves in readiness for a journey.

In the evening we were each furnished with a cloak, made of varnished cotton-cloth, a straw hat, with a round brim, a pair of Japanese stockings, and straw shoes, which the Japanese wear for travelling.

On the evening of the 26th of September we were informed, that on the following morning, if the weather proved fair, we should set out on our journey. At break of day, on the 27th, preparations were accordingly commenced, and several of the officers came to bid us a formal adieu. They entered our little apartments, and, with the assistance of the interpreter, said that they had come to bid us farewell, to wish us good health, a safe journey, and a speedy termination of the difficulties in which we were involved. In the meanwhile we had each a rope tied round the waist. We were then led into the court-yard, and placed side by side: a soldier was stationed beside each as a guard, and a super-

intendent or conductor held the rope. These travelling regulations in no way corresponded with the politeness which the Japanese had, a short while before, manifested in taking leave of us. We were almost tempted to believe that their conduct was all mockery; but it was highly improbable that all the officers of the city, the commander-in-chief included, should have combined together to pass a joke upon us. By degrees, however, we became accustomed to the singular habits of this people.

About mid-day we set out on our journey. We were conducted in the same order as in our former march, only that in addition to the litters horses were introduced into the procession, bearing our quilts and night-dresses, instead of saddles. In the road through which we passed, at the distance of about a hundred fathoms from the prison, we met with a detachment of infantry under arms. It was a clear and warm day, and a vast number of spectators had accordingly assembled, many of whom accompanied us to the distance of three wersts. Our escort consisted of one officer, from twelve to sixteen soldiers, two superintendents, and a considerable number of individuals, whose business was to carry the litters, lead the horses, &c. and who were relieved at the different stations which we passed by. We were besides accompanied by the interpreter Kumaddschero, and the physician Togo.

As we had been confined for the space of fifty

days, we were glad to enjoy the recreation of walking, and we only mounted the horses when we felt ourselves fatigued. On these occasions the Japanese rolled up the ropes with which we were bound, fastened them, and suffered us to ride at liberty. This, however, they only did when our road happened to lie through open fields: whenever we had to pass through villages, they never failed to hold the ends of the ropes.

Our road from Chakodade lay along the bay close to the shore. Having arrived opposite to the tongue of land on which the city is built, we ascended a hill, on the summit of which a battery was erected. The apparent object of this battery was to prevent vessels from entering the bay: it was, however, very ill calculated for that purpose, owing to the extreme height of the hill, and the breadth of the channel which formed the entrance. The Japanese conducted us through this battery,*

* This battery consisted of an earthen breast-wor . ot very high, behind which were planted three or four small pieces of brass cannon, on two-wheeled carriages, which were, however, very different from our carriages. On cross-beams, at the foot of the breast-work, stood an eighteen or twenty-four pounder, which seemed to have been cast in Europe. It is probable that the Japanese had placed it in this situation, because so heavy a gun would have shaken to pieces on the first fire such carriages as they make.

and thereby occasioned us no small degree of uneasiness. They sought to conceal nothing from us, even in their military works; and thence we inferred, that they doubtless intended to detain us prisoners for life, as in that case we could not turn to their disadvantage any knowledge we might collect respecting their system of fortification. We re-considered all the circumstances which had occurred in Chakodade, from which it appeared that flight was our only means of deliverance. But we were soon convinced of the impracticability of escaping at this time; for though during the night the ropes with which we were bound were laid aside, yet the greater part of our attendants never closed their eyes, and some never quitted the apartments in which we were lodged. Our only chance was to break from them by force during the day, and considering the numbers by which we were surrounded, and that our only weapon was a knife, this seemed next to impossible.

Our food was the same as that with which we had been supplied during our journey to Chakodade, and we received a meal three times every day. In this part of the island the villages are extremely numerous and populous. The inhabitants maintain themselves by fishing and collecting sea-weed; besides this, they have in general large kitchen-gardens, in which they plant an extraordinary number of ra-

dishes.* We not unfrequently saw entire fields thickly planted with these roots.

We spent the night of the 29th of September in a little village about half a day's journey from Matsmai. This place was rendered memorable to us by the following circumstances. The interpreter Kumaddschero advised us, when we should be examined in Matsmai, to be careful that our answers corresponded with our previous declarations. He assured us, that if we in the slightest degree departed from our former statements, we should be declared guilty by the Japanese laws. He besides supplied each of us with some excellent tobacco and several pieces of paper,† and said that he gave us these things in order that the officers in Matsmai might not attribute our want of them to the negligence of our conductors. He desired us not to believe the physician when he told us that a fine

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* The Japanese, rich as well as poor, boil radishes in their soup. This root is in as common use with them as cabbage is among the Russians. They likewise salt or pickle them, and eat them to their food instead of seasoning. They bite off little bits when eating fish and dishes which require salt.

† The Japanese, instead of pocket-handkerchiefs, make use of pieces of paper. The richer class of people make use of a very fine kind of paper: the poor, on the contrary, use very coarse. On this occasion, we had a much finer kind of paper given to us than that with which we had been supplied in Chakodade.

house was preparing for us in Matsmai, where we should all live together. This we thought was much the same as telling us that a prison was to be our doom: what this extraordinary attention respecting the paper and tobacco denoted we were however unable to divine.

On the afternoon of the 30th of September we halted in a village about three wersts distant from Matsmai, where we were met by a party of soldiers and a vast crowd of people. We remained here about half an hour, during which time our conductors put on their best clothes, and we then entered the city with the same formalities as had been observed at Chakodade: the number of spectators was, however, considerably greater, owing to the vast population of the city. Having proceeded through the town, to the distance of about four or five wersts along the shore, we entered a large open space, crowded with men, who stood behind ropes, which had been extended there for the accommodation of the procession. Thence we ascended a tolerably high hill, passed along the rampart which encompassed the castle, and entered a court-yard, which was surrounded by a high wooden fence, entirely new. Here we met a detachment of soldiers in their military uniforms. From this court-yard a little door led through another fence, which was higher than the preceding one. We now entered a dark edifice

like a barn, and we three officers were shut up together in a cage, which bore some distant resemblance to a room: the sailors and Alexei were confined in another.

CHAPTER IV.

On the first view of our prison, we thought we should never again enjoy the light of the sun; for, though the weather was fine, and the sky bright, when we entered, we found darkness had already commenced in this dismal abode, to which no friendly ray seemed to penetrate. The place of our confinement, the fence which surrounded the yard, and the sentry boxes, were all so recently finished, that the workmen had not had time to remove their chips. The prison* was large, built of fine wood,

* It was a quadrangular wooden building, twenty-five paces long, fifteen broad, and twelve feet high. Three sides were complete wall, without any aperture whatever; but the south side was formed of strong spars, four inches square, and placed at the distance of four inches also from each other. On the side which consisted of these spars, there was a gate, and a little door, both of which were, however, kept fast locked. In the middle were two cages, formed of spars, similar to those on the south side of the prison. They were so placed, as to leave a passage between each, and also passages between them and the walls of the prison. One cage was six paces square, and ten feet high; the other was of an equal breadth and heighth, but was eight paces long. We three officers were put into the former; the sailors and Alexei were confined in the latter. The entrance to the cage was so low, that we were obliged to creep into it. The door was formed of massy spars, and was

and must have occasioned the Japanese government no inconsiderable expense. We could not

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fastened by a strong iron bolt. Above the door was a small hole, through which our food was handed to us. A small water-closet was constructed in the further end of each cage. The sides of the cage next each other were bounded in such a manner that we could see the sailors, but they could not perceive us; a screen was also placed between the closets, for the purpose of obstructing the view from the one to the other. A guard-room was placed against the spars which formed the entrance side of the prison, and which was occupied by two soldiers in the service of the imperial government, who were constantly on guard: they could see us all, and seldom turned their eyes away from us. The whole building was surrounded at the distance of from six to eight paces by a high wall or fence, with sharp pointed wooden stakes, and in which there was a door exactly opposite that of the prison. Around the first wall was a second, but less high fence, including a considerable space, within which were, on one side of the gate of the great wall, the cooking-room and an apartment for the workmen, and, on the other side, a guard-house. The outer guard consisted of soldiers belonging to the Prince of Tzyngar. They were not allowed to come near us, nor even to pass within the first fence, but patrolled the rounds every half hour. During the night they had fire, and struck the hours with two boards: the imperial soldiers on the contrary visited us every half hour, walked round our cages, and looked through the spars. The whole structure was situated between an abrupt and deep hollow, through which a stream flowed, and the rampart of the castle, from which it was separated by a road of no great breadth. At night this prison was most horribly dismal: we had no fire: a night lamp supplied with fresh oil, and placed in a paper lantern, was kept burning in the guard-room, but the

suppose that the Japanese would have thrown away time, labour, and expense, if they intended to set us soon at liberty. They might easily have found a suitable house for confining us two or three years: but the strength and the plan of this prison appeared to denote that it was intended to be our dwelling-place during the remainder of our existence. This idea distressed us not a little. We sat long in profound silence, looked at each other, and regarded ourselves as finally lost. A servant at length brought in our supper, which consisted of boiled rice, a piece of fish, and a handful of beans with syrup. He reached it through the spars, and, not observing me as I lay in a corner, asked in broken Russian where the third was. Mr. Moor immediately asked him where he had learned Russian, to which he replied "in Kamtschatka." Mr. Moor told him that he had also been in Kamtschatka; the Japanese, however, understood him to say that he had seen him there. He was overjoyed to hear this, and repeated what he supposed Mr. Moor had said to the interpreter. We had frequently told him that we knew of no Japanese having been

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feeble glimmering light which it shed between the spars was scarcely capable of rendering any object visible to us. The clanking noise made every half hour by the moving of the locks and bolts, when the soldiers inspected us, rendered this gloomy place still more disagreeable, and did not allow us to enjoy a moments repose.

at Kamtschatka, except the seven who had been saved from shipwreck, and who were in Nischny-Kamtschatsk, but whom we had not seen. On our endeavouring to make the interpreter comprehend the mistake of the servant, he exclaimed: "How artful! how artful!" and went away. This circumstance gave us much uneasiness, as it was calculated to make the Japanese suspect that there was something in the affair which we wished to conceal from them.

On the 1st of October it was notified to us, that on the following day we should be carried before the bunyo, or viceroy, which was accordingly done in the morning. We were conducted in the same manner as in Chakodade, except that, on this occasion, the ends of the ropes were held by imperial soldiers. The road to the southern gate of the castle, or fortress, to which we were conducted, lay between the rampart and the hollow, and extended to the distance of about a quarter of a werst from our prison. As the road was dirty, the Japanese had laid down planks for us to walk on, and held umbrellas over us to protect us from the rain.

On entering the castle, we soon found ourselves in a sort of court or yard of considerable size, strewed with small stones or gravel, and were put into a low long-shaped building, and placed all in a row upon one bench. We waited here about an

hour; at last a door was opened, and we were conveyed into a second court. Proceeding forward, we came to the door of a third court, on approaching which, the soldiers who escorted us pulled off their shoes* and laid them down, with their swords and daggers, at the door: in like manner we were obliged to deposit our boots. This door being opened, we walked on very fine straw mats towards a large wooden building. Here we were placed in the front of a spacious saloon, in which the skreens, of which the walls, according to the Japanese mode of building, were formed, were thrown open on the side next the court. Mr. Moor, Mr. Chlebnikoff, and myself, were placed on an elevated spot; our sailors were behind us, but somewhat lower, and Alexei sat on their left. Our servant, who understood some Russian words,† took his station on our right (this was the place of the interpreter), and Kumaddschero on our left. This servant had told us that he was to be our interpreter in our conference with the bunyosso, but we did not believe that he would venture to undertake a task he was so incapable of executing.

* Or, more properly, straw sandals; for the Japanese wear neither boots nor shoes, but make with plaited straw or grass a kind of sandals.

† There were two of our attendants who, as the Japanese supposed, understood Russian. The name of this man was Heinste; the other was called Fok-Masse.

The saloon was very extensive; the skreens which formed its sides, some of which were of paper, others of wood, were all gilded, and adorned with Japanese paintings of landscapes, quadrupeds, and birds. The curious carved work, and the various kinds of fine wood of which the doors and frames were formed, added greatly to the splendour of this extraordinary edifice. The floor was covered with finely worked tapestry. On each side of the saloon were five officers, with daggers in their girdles, sitting cross-legged, according to the Japanese custom; and three of whom had large sabres, lying beside them on the left hand: they were in their usual dress.

After we had waited about a quarter of an hour, during which the Japanese laughed and amused themselves in conversation with each other, we suddenly heard a rustling behind a skreen. One of the officers called out—Schee! and a deep silence immediately followed. A Japanese, in the ordinary dress, came forward, kneeled on his entrance, placed the palms of his hands on the floor, and bowed his head. The bunyo now appeared: he was in a common black dress, on the sleeves of which, as is the custom with all the Japanese, his armorial bearings were embroidered: he had a dagger at his girdle, and his sabre was carried by one of his suite, who were five in number, he who had previously entered included. The sabre-

bearer held that weapon near the extremity, with the handle upward; but a cloth was wrapped round the part which he grasped, to preserve his naked hand from coming in contact with it. The bunyo took his place without delay: he faced us, and looked like a president sitting at the head of his council. His suite sat down behind him at the distance of three paces: he who carried the sabre laid it down on the left of the bunyo. This was no sooner done, than the Japanese all testified their respect, by laying the palms of their hands on the floor, and bending their bodies so low, that their foreheads almost touched the ground. In this position they remained for some seconds. The bunyo returned the compliment with a pretty deep bow, in doing which he laid the palms of his hands upon his knees. We saluted him after the European manner, on which he nodded his head, repeatedly smiled, and seemed desirous of shewing that he was favourably disposed towards us. He drew from his bosom a paper, into which he looked, and called each of us by our names: we answered with a bow, and he bowed in return. He then addressed himself to Heinste, who listened, with his forehead touching the ground, and when the bunyo ceased to speak, stood up, in order to interpret what had been said. This he however did so imperfectly, that we could not comprehend him. The following was the purport of his ver-

sion:—"Thou art a man—I am a man—such another is a man--- say what sort of a man?" We advised him not to deceive his superior, but to confess frankly that he was incapable of performing the task he had undertaken, lest harm should befall him in consequence of his persisting. He listened with the greatest attention to what we said, and proceeded to interpret it, in doing which he resumed his former position. The Japanese wrote down what he said,* and then a second question was put. The shameful assurance of this man roused our indignation so far, that we declared we would answer no more questions, in order that this impostor might not injure us by his erroneous interpretations. Heinste, however, who was not in the least ruffled by this declaration, as in fact he did not well understand what we said, made some reply to the Japanese, who took a note of his supposed interpretation; after which a new question was asked. We turned to Alexei and Kumaddschero, and requested that they would explain the matter to the bunyo; but they did not dare to speak. Meanwhile the bunyo conversed with Heinste, and we heard him pronounce the Japanese word for father, which we knew. It is probable

* There was here no particular secretary, as at Chakodade; but our answers were noted down by two officers, one of whom sat on the right, the other on the left.

that he asked the names of our fathers. Heinste pulled a paper, with Russian words, out of his breast, and after stammering for a considerable time, at last acknowledged that he did not know the word, and could not find it in his list. When the bunyo and his officers found that he was ignorant of so common a word, they laughed, dismissed him, and again appointed Kumaddschero and Alexei our interpreters.

The questions commenced in the same manner as at Chakodade, with inquiries respecting our names, rank, families, and relations. In these particulars the interrogatories were even more minute than any we had answered before; and they were all put by the bunyo himself. After examining us on the subject of Resanoff's return from Japan, and the cause of our arrival among them, he asked some questions which had no relation to these subjects, and appeared to arise from mere curiosity. Of these I recollect the following:—he wished to know how the Russians buried their dead; what sort of monuments they erected over their graves, and whether, in that respect, any difference was made between the rich and the poor. When, in the course of our answers, we mentioned that the funerals of the rich were attended by a number of priests, the bunyo remarked that the same practice prevailed among the Japanese. At last he asked whether there was any request that we wished to

address to him. We answered that we did not rightly know what was intended by that question, as we supposed the bunyo himself must be aware of the only request we had to make, seeing that we had been treacherously seized, and even still unjustly detained in prison. He then observed that we might address a petition to him with regard to the place in which we wished to reside; namely, whether in Matsmai, in Yeddo, the capital, or in any other part of Japan, or, finally, stating whether we would rather return to Russia. We replied that we had only two things to ask: the first was, to be permitted to return to our country; the second, in case the first was not possible, to die—these were the only favours we had to request of the Japanese. The bunyo now, with evident emotion, made a long speech, which all present listened to with the utmost attention; and an expression of commiseration was visible in the countenances of all. Alexei then turned to explain to us what had been said (but he probably committed some blunders in his interpretation), and observed that he had heard so many consolatory assurances, that he despaired of being able to repeat them all; he would, however, endeavour to convey to us the substance of the speech, at which we should doubtless find some cause to rejoice. "The General,"* continued

* So Alexei styled the bunyo, because the Governor of Kamt-

Alexei, "says that the Japanese are men, and have hearts as well as other people, and that we have therefore no reason either to fear or despair. They will investigate our affair; and if they find that we are not deceiving them, and that we are not implicated in the proceedings of Chwostoff, they will send us back to Russia, and will supply us with rice, sagi, and other provisions, and presents. In the meanwhile they advised us to console ourselves, as they would look after our health, and see that we wanted for nothing. If we stood in need of clothes, or any particular kind of food, they desired that we would not hesitate to make our request known." We thanked the bunyo for this consolatory speech, and for his promise that we should have justice done us; upon which he withdrew,* having directed our attendants to conduct us back to prison.

Notwithstanding the singularly unfortunate combination of circumstances, which was calculated to fill the minds of the Japanese with distrust and hatred towards us, the assurance of the governor tended greatly to ease our minds. We thought

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schatka was called General at that time. From 1799 to 1812 that office was filled by major-generals in the army.

* Before he retired he bowed to the officers, and they to him, as on his entrance. When he rose, his sword-bearer immediately took his sabre up with the cloth, holding the hilt upwards, and followed him.

that no men, who were not possessed by evil spirits, could have so well assumed the mask of dissimulation, and put on such an appearance of sympathy, if they really did not feel for us. On the other hand, bitter experience had confirmed all that we had before heard or read concerning the oriental nations, and in particular the Japanese, namely: that the meanest beggars with them excel our most crafty European courtiers in the practice of falsehood and deceit. We were frequently distressed by the reflection that this subtle and cunning people were doubtless aware of the use to which they might turn us, when we should become reconciled to our fate of remaining for ever in Japan; and that they, perhaps, consoled us only with empty hopes, lest we should pine our lives away in despair, and thus rob them of the advantages they might otherwise derive from our experience and knowledge of the arts of Europe.

On the following day, the 3rd of October, we were again conducted to the castle, and placed in the presence of the bunyo, with all the formalities which had been observed on the former occasion. He devoted but little attention to the main subject of investigation, but questioned us for a long time concerning the various customs and manners of the Europeans. Among other things, he inquired whether we ever witnessed such a storm in Russia as had taken place on the preceding night in Japan.

In some places, he added, the weather was much more stormy than in Matsmai. "This," said he, "was not one of our very severe storms: at Nyphon they are both more violent and frequent than here." He endeavoured to give to this examination the appearance of a friendly conversation, and in about two hours time dismissed us, in order that we might partake of some refreshment.

We entered a spacious court-yard, and took our seats in a summer-house, where the Japanese, by order of the governor, served us with tea and sugar. It was not allowable to smoke tobacco in the court-yard of the bunyo's castle, our guards therefore went by turns into the kitchen and guard-room to smoke their pipes. In the meantime the interpreter, Kumaddschero, came to us, accompanied by a civil officer and a tailor, who, he said, had been ordered by the governor to make some clothes for us, either after the Japanese or the Russian form, as we ourselves might think fit; but that, if we wished to have them after the Russian fashion, we must furnish the tailor with a pattern. We observed that we had clothes enough, and felt no wish to have more; upon which the Japanese replied that that was of no importance; that the governor wished to make us a present, and that we must not reject it. All contradiction was therefore useless: we told him that we wished to have some warm cloathes made after the pattern of a coat

which had been sent from the sloop to Mr. Chlebnikoff.

The tailor was then conducted to the store-house, were our things were kept; the coat was shewn to him, and he proceeded to take our measures:—he made use of a measure which was divided into ten parts, and noted every thing down in writing. When he had measured us all,* we were again summoned to appear before the bunyo, who examined us for several hours, and at length dismissed us with an exhortation not to abandon ourselves to despair, but to offer up prayers to God, and wait with patience for the issue of the investigation. "Be assured," said he, "that I will use all my influence with the emperor to obtain his consent that you may return to your native country. I will provide you with paper and ink, in order that you may draw up an account of your case in the Russian language, and with the help of the interpreters get it translated into Japanese. I will examine it,

* In the course of a few days our new clothes were brought to us. Those for Mr. Moor, Mr. Chlebnikoff, and myself, were made of a cherry-coloured cotton stuff, somewhat resembling frieze, which the Japanese call *mompa*, and were wadded and lined with cotton. The sailors' clothes were of common cotton stuff, wadded and lined, and of the same form as our's. They were all, however, very singularly shaped, being neither cloaks, great-coats, nor night-gowns, though they bore some resemblance to garments of each of these denominations. Alexei had a night-dress made after the Japanese form.

transmit it to the government, and will see that every thing is terminated to your advantage. You may also draw up a petition to be presented to me." We thanked him for his kindness, and returned to our melancholy prison; not knowing whether these consolations of the Japanese were sincere or feigned.

We did not again appear before the bunyo until the 6th of October. Our food in Matsmai was incomparably better than it had been in Chakodade. According to the Japanese custom, stewed rice and pickled radishes served us instead of bread and seasoning. We were besides frequently furnished with good fresh and salt fish, boiled or fried; soups, in which were various wild herbs or macaroni; and they sometimes prepared for us a kind of Russian soup or sauce, made with white fish and muscle broth. The fish were fried in oil of poppies, and were seasoned with grated radish and soy. When the snow began to fall, they shot for us sea dogs, bears, and frequently hares. The Japanese consider the flesh of whales and sea lions to be the most delicate of all food. Our attendants, some of whom had been in Russia, were ordered to cook our victuals in the way we liked best. We were accordingly sometimes regaled with small patties of barley-meal with fish, which were pretty savoury, and they also gave us a kind of dark-coloured grits boiled. These were the only imitations of Rus-

sian dishes they knew how to prepare. Our meals were usually served to us thrice every day. Our drink consisted either of luke-warm or hot tea; and when we returned from the castle, our attendants usually presented each of us with two tea-cups full of warm sagi: this they never failed to do when the weather was colder than usual.

We were living almost in the open air; and, as the weather was extremely cold, the Japanese gave to each of our sailors a large night-dress, and one bear-skin: they furnished the officers and myself with two bear-skins each, and placed benches for us to sleep upon, as they had heard that the Russians did nor like to lie on the ground. They besides gave the sailors a bench to sit upon. These attentions, however, corresponded very ill with our rigorous confinement, and therefore appeared to us very singular.

Besides the orderly officers, who came to us by turns during the day, a particular officer was appointed to look after our provisions. The kind manners of the Japanese emboldened us to ask one of the officers whether we could not have a window made in the back wall of the prison, as through the palisades we could discover nothing but the sky and the tops of a few trees. He did not oppose our request, but examined the wall, and asked us where we thought it would be best to make the window. We felt reason to hope that our re-

quest would be complied with; but we were deceived. On the renewal of our solicitation, a few days afterwards, the officer replied, that the Japanese were careful of our health, and feared lest the bleak north-winds might give us cold. We were consequently compelled to give up all thoughts of the window.

From the 6th of October, to the end of the month, we were conducted regularly every day, or every other day, to the bunyo, who usually detained us the greater part of the day, so that our attendants were obliged to carry our meals to the castle. About the middle of October,* when the frost began, the bunyo left off receiving us in the saloon, and our examinations afterwards took place in a chamber of justice, similar to that at Chakodade, and which was likewise hung round with instruments of punishment. The number of questions which the bunyo asked was incalculable. If he put one interrogatory concerning any circumstance connected with our case, he asked fifty which were unimportant, and many which were ludicrous. This so puzzled and tormented us, that we sometimes made very insolent replies. We

* The first snow fell in Matsmai on the night of the 14th of October, but it was melted by a thaw a few days afterwards. Towards the middle of November the snow fell very thick, and the winter then set in.

once stated plainly, that we had rather they would put an end to our existence at once than torture us in the way they did. Who would not have lost patience on being asked such questions as the following. When I was taken, I had ten or twelve keys of my bureau and drawers, and of the astronomical instruments belonging to the ship. The bunyo wished to be informed of the contents of every drawer, and every box. When I pointed to my shirt, and told him that my drawers contained such things as these, he asked me how many I had. I told him, with some degree of ill-humour, that I did not know; and that it was my servant's business to keep that reckoning. Upon this he immediately inquired how many servants I had, and what were their names and ages. I lost all patience, and asked the Japanese why they teased us with such questions, and what use such information could be to them, since neither my servants nor property were near me. The governor then, with great mildness, observed that he hoped we were not offended by his curiosity; that he did not intend to force any answers from us, but merely questioned us like a friend. This kindness immediately calmed our irritation, and we reproached ourselves for the rude answers we had given. The bunyo then asked a few questions relative to our business, but soon resumed his old system of examination, and at length dismissed us, harnessed as usual like so

many horses. In this manner we frequently quarelled, and adjusted our disputes three or four times in the course of a day.

In order to enable the reader to form some notion of the questions which the Japanese put to us, and the trouble it cost us to explain the various things which excited their curiosity, I subjoin a few of their interrogatories, scarcely, however, the hundreth part of the useless inquiries which they were accustomed to make in the course of one day. It must, moreover, be considered that we had to make ourselves understood to them by means of a half-barbarous Kurile, who knew scarcely any thing of the subjects on which we conversed, and who knew of no words in the Kurile language to express many of the terms which we made use of. The Japanese interrogated us without any kind of regularity, and often jumped from one subject to another. The following is a specimen of one of our examinations.

What kind of dress does the Emperor of Russia wear—what does he wear on his head*— what kind of birds are found in the neighbourhood of St. Petersburgh—what would be the price in Russia of the clothes which we were then wearing—what

* When they heard that Mr. Moor was a good draughtsman, they requested him to draw the figure of our emperor's hat upon a piece of paper.

number of cannon was planted round the imperial palace*—what wool is made use of in Europe for manufacturing cloth†— what quadrupeds, birds, and fish are eaten in Russia—in what manner do the Russians eat their food—what dress do the ladies wear— what kind of horse does the emperor usually ride—who accompanies him when he goes abroad—are the Russians partial to the Dutch—how many foreigners are there in Russia—what are the chief articles of trade in Petersburgh—what are the dimensions in the length, breadth, and height, of the imperial palace‡—how many windows does it

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* On our informing them that the sovereigns of Europe did not fortify their palaces, they at first seemed to doubt the truth of what we said. They, however, afterwards expressed their astonishment at what they termed so singular an instance of imprudence.

† On our mentioning sheep, they requested Mr. Moor to draw them the figures of a sheep and a goat. At length they asked him for horses, asses, coaches, sledges, &c. in a word, they wished to have every thing represented on paper which they could not see in Japan. They always made their requests with the utmost politeness, and therefore he could not possibly refuse them, although he found it a very tedious and troublesome task to satisfy all their demands: fortunately, however, he sketched with astonishing rapidity.

‡ When we replied that we did not know, they requested that we would inform them according to supposition. This they never failed to do whenever we sought to evade their questions. They frequently put us out of humour by making inquiries respecting

contain—how many times do the Russians go to church in one day—how many festivals do the Russians observe in the course of the year—do the Russians wear silk clothes—at what time of life do the Russian women begin and cease to bear children. They besides inquired the names of the emperor, and all the branches of the imperial family; the names of the governors-general of Siberia and Irkutzk, and of the commandants of Okotzk and Kamtschatka, &c. &c.

But the Japanese vexed us most of all by their inquiries respecting barracks. I have already observed that in Chakodade they insisted on knowing how many men were under our command, according to our rank, when we were ashore. This question was again repeated, together with a request to know where the sailors lived in Petersburgh. In barracks, we replied. They then requested Mr. Moor to sketch, from the best of his recollection, a plan of Petersburgh, and to point out in what part of the town the sailors' barracks were. This demand was no sooner complied with, than they made inquiries

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things of which we could not possibly possess any knowledge, such for instance as: how many harbours are there in Europe in which ships are built—and how many ships of war and merchantmen are there in all Europe. We might indeed have invented an answer of some kind or other; but we found it necessary to be upon our guard, as they frequently questioned us on the same subject at different times, and in different ways.

respecting the length, breadth, and height, of the barracks; the number of gates, windows, and doors, they contained; and further into how many stories they were divided; in what part of the building the sailors lived; how they employed their time; how many men were appointed to guard the barracks, &c. But this was not all: they questioned us about the military barracks; asked how many buildings of that kind there were in Petersburgh, in what part of the town they were situated, and what number of men they contained. We thought it best to plead ignorance of most of these matters; but this did not induce the Japanese to discontinue their trifling. They inquired in what part of the city our dwellings were situated, how far they were from the palace, and requested us to point out the spot on the sketch which Mr. Moor had drawn. At length they wished to know how large our houses were, and how many servants we kept. I frequently thought that the Japanese took a pleasure thus to torment us; for to reply to all the questions which their insatiable curiosity induced them to put to us was a real martyrdom. We sometimes absolutely refused to answer them, and told them that they might if they pleased put us to death. The bunyo would then endeavour to reconcile us by expressions of regard and inquiries respecting matters relative to our imprisonment, but he would soon resume his childishness. We avoided,

by every possible manœuvre, giving them any opportunity for unnecessary questions: we replied in a short manner, and sometimes gave them only half an answer; but every word carried with it a train of interrogatories. They admired the fine handwriting and drawing of Mr. Moor: they looked upon him to be an exceeding learned man, and asked where he had been educated. Mr. Moor took care not to tell them that he had been brought up in the Naval Cadet College: to avoid the thousand questions which would infallibly have ensued respecting that institution, he merely said that he had received his education in his uncle's house. Then followed a string of questions concerning his uncle, who he was, whether he was rich, where he resided, and whether he had himself been Moor's instructor, &c. On his informing them that he had had tutors, they inquired their names, where they had been educated, &c. When they asked me where I was brought up, I told them in my father's house, and naturally concluded that there would be an end of the matter; but I was under a mistake: I was obliged to inform them when and how I had acquired my education, whether my father was a man of property, and with what sciences he was acquainted.

The Japanese at last produced all the things which they had taken from us, inquired their names, their uses, where they had been manufactured, and

how much they cost. They took down all our answers in writing, and placed a label with a superscription on each of the articles. One day, a box full of my English and French books was brought into the presence of the bunyo, though we had not been previously informed of their being sent from the sloop. The Japanese took up the books one by one, shewed them to us, and inquired respecting their contents. With regard to some of the books, this explanation was easy enough; but, with others, we experienced no small difficulty. Among the latter was the Physics of Libes, in three volumes, in the French language. This work contains numerous plans of various instruments and machines, which powerfully excited the curiosity of the Japanese. Every thing they saw filled them with amazement. They declared themselves overjoyed that such a book should have fallen into their hands, and requested an explanation of all the figures which most pleased them. In vain did we tell them that with such an interpreter as Alexei we could not possibly make them understand the meaning of the plates; they entreated that we would give them some notion of what kind of book it was. We told Alexei that the book treated of the means of raising heavy weights, and shewed him one of the plates representing a crane and block. He immediately understood us, and translated what we said to the Japanese. But this did not satisfy them: they re-

plied that such things had long since been well known to them. They pointed to one of the plates explanatory of the refraction of rays, and asked us what it meant, and whether it did not relate to the distance between the sun and the earth. I thought it would not be difficult to make Alexei comprehend this figure, and asked him whether he had not observed that when the end of an oar was in the water it had the appearance of being broken. "Oh yes!" he said, "I have observed that, though I do not know how it happens." When we tried to explain to him the refraction of rays, he asked us what a ray was. No sooner had we made him understand the meaning of the word than he burst into a loud fit of laughter. "Oh, that's impossible!" said he: "what man can break a ray?" We were likewise unable to repress our laughter, and the Japanese joined us without knowing why. They seemed at last convinced that Alexei was not a fit interpreter for such matters, though he himself was fully of opinion that we were talking nonsense. They now took the books from us, saying "another time, another time," and began to pack them carefully up in the box. This increased our vexation. It appeared they took us all for extremely learned men, but, in particular, entertained that opinion of me, because my name was written in all the books. They questioned me concerning that circumstance, and expressed their astonishment at my having so many books in

my possession. From what fell from them they seemed to expect that we would, one day or other, be able to make them understand the contents of these books, which, at present, appeared perfectly enigmatical to them.

I subjoin two observations which the Japanese made concerning these books. They asked me why I had so many foreign books, and only one in the Russian language,* and whether they did not know how to print books in Russia. It is, I replied, because they happen to have sent from the sloop only the chest containing the foreign books: the Russian volumes are in another box. They then asked how it happened that my foreign books were so handsomely bound, and printed on fine paper, whilst that in the Russian language was, on the contrary, printed on coarse paper. I replied that the Russians, as well as other nations, occasionally printed their books either on fine or coarse paper.

Among a number of insignificant questions, arising from mere curiosity, the Japanese wished to know the military and naval force, the number of garrisons, and the riches and strength of the Russian empire, &c. We readily replied to these questions, always bearing in mind that which we had before said; and though each interrogatory

* Tatischtschew's French Dictionary, in two vols.

was repeated ten times over, we were constantly prepared with a corresponding answer. It seemed to them impossible that we should make use of bombs weighing nine pounds; and they laughed when we said that we preferred firing muskets with flints, as they make use of matches for that purpose.

With regard to the circumstances relative to our imprisonment, the bunyo asked all the questions which we had previously answered in Chakodade. He repeated them once, and sometimes twice during the day; but he always seemed to consider the satisfaction of his own curiosity as the most important object, and all else as mere accessary matters. A wish was, however, shewn to have clear and decided answers to any question relative to our own case. We learned that our two attendants were the same Japanese who had been carried off from the Island of Sagaleen by Chwostoff, and who were detained by him for a whole winter at Kamtschatka, and then sent back to Japan. What had been his object in doing this we knew not. Those attendants constantly accompanied us to the castle, and were always present during the examinations, or rather conversations. The bunyo once asked a question concerning Chwostoff, and immediately spoke to one of the attendants. The latter answered (for we understood the purport of what he said perfectly well,) that Chwostoff wore a uniform

ornamented with gold lace, the same as mine and Mr. Moor's. The Japanese looked at us and smiled. The bunyo then said that the two attendants, Heinste and Fok-Masse, who had been taken before the chief commandant of Kamtschatka, had heard him declare that he would overrun Japan with a numerous army; and that, instead of merely blustering there, as Chwostoff had done, he would burn and destroy every thing he could find. We replied, that it appeared to us improbable that the commandant of Kamtschatka should have made any such declaration; that the expressions had perhaps been made use of by one of the officers of the garrison; and that, even allowing it to be true, the commandant of Kamtschatka was a person of no importance in Russia, and might, if he pleased, talk nonsense as well as other people. Our government, as we have already proved to them, entertained no such intentions; otherwise its hostilities would not have been confined to empty threats, and the Japanese would soon have experienced the difference between a predatory attack made by a private individual, and a regular war declared by the emperor. The bunyo was not in the least degree offended by this answer, and continued his questions with his usual civility.

At the close of this examination, the bunyo informed us that we should not be conveyed to the castle for some time again, in order to afford us

time to draw up a written statement of our case, with the assistance of the interpreter Kumaddschero, to whom he had given every necessary instruction. He accordingly dismissed us with an exhortation not to yield to despair; but to offer up prayers to heaven, and to place confidence therein; adding, that in case we stood in need of any thing, he requested us immediately to inform him, since we should experience every indulgence which he could give consistently with the laws of his country.

I must not omit to mention several marks of attention which the Japanese shewed to us during the month of October. I have already observed that they provided us with warm clothing and bear-skins; but as the cold continued to increase, they stopped up the spaces between the spars with paper, and at our earnest entreaty made windows at the top, which opened and shut by means of a rope. From these windows we could indeed discover nothing but the sky and the tops of a few trees; but in our sad condition we derived some consolation even from this prospect. They besides dug large holes for hearths, at about one and a half or two paces from each cage,* which they built

* Several officers, the interpreter, the physician, and an architect, assembled like the members of a council, to debate concerning the precise spots where these holes should be dug. The ground was examined and measured, and upwards of an

round with thick free-stone, and filled with sand. In these fire-places they burnt charcoal from morning to night, which warmed us when we seated ourselves on the ground near the spars. In course of a few days they supplied us with tobacco for smoking, and very long pipes, to the middle of which a wooden ball was affixed, of so large a size that it would not pass between the palisades, and which was intended to hinder us from drawing the burning pipes into our prisons. We felt irritated at this singular instance of distrust, and reproached the Japanese in pretty plain terms for the barbarous opinion they entertained of the Europeans. They, however, laughed, and referred to their laws, which obliged them to remove from the reach of their prisoners any thing by which they might commit violence, either on themselves or others. They told us that we were only permitted to smoke tobacco through the particular favour of the governor, and

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hour was spent in deliberation. At first we naturally supposed that some affair of mighty importance was in agitation, but we soon learnt what it all tended to. They wished the fires to be kindled at such a distance that we could not reach the coals with our hands, though we could smoke our pipes by means of the long tubes they supplied us with. This dilatory and trifling turn of the Japanese caused us much vexation. If (thought we) they deliberate for an hour about matters of this nature, how long will it be ere they bring the investigation of our case to an issue.

that without violating their laws they had granted us some indulgences, and had kindled fires for us: they therefore observed that we ought not to murmur at any trifling restriction. This explanation consoled us: we were glad to find that the Japanese did not adhere strictly to the letter of their law, and that they often made evasions in our favour. In the present case the Japanese had to take care to avoid a war with Russia: it was accordingly natural enough that they should rather chuse not to be over punctual in expounding their statutes, than to draw down upon themselves the anger of a warlike and powerful neighbour. They, moreover, assured us, that our condition would be bettered in course of time, and that at length, the highest mark of favour they could shew us, would be to send us back to our native country. They observed that the Japanese never did any thing rashly; that with them every measure was executed slowly and deliberately, and that, consequently, our condition could only be gradually improved. This we well knew from experience, for we had never yet received two civilities or favours in the course of the same day.

Among the many marks of kindness with which the bunyo honoured us, one in particular deserves to be noticed. There were one day shewn to us several models of boats and ships, which appeared to us to be Chinese; a silver rouble bearing the head

of Catherine II.; a Japanese bag, containing about two pounds of rice; and an elegant case of flasks, partly lacquered and partly gilt, which was the property of the bunyo. The Japanese asked us whether we had ever seen any thing in Europe like the models and the case of flasks; and, further, what was the name and value of the coin, and what quantity of rice the bag would contain, according to Russian weight. Their questions were short, and unaccompanied by the usual digressions. They then poured from the flasks some excellent sagi and cordials, which they presented to us. The interpreter, Kumaddschero, gave us to understand that this was done by order of the bunyo, who, according to their laws, could not entertain us in his own house. I must likewise observe, that the Japanese did every thing which they thought would contribute to our comfort, and were particularly watchful of our health. Our physician visited us daily; and if we felt the slightest indisposition, repeated his visits twice or three times in course of the day, and in cases which appeared in any degree dangerous he brought another physician along with him. Their attention to us went to so great a length, that one night, when a fire broke out in the city,* our

* The fire broke out owing to the carelessness of the guards on board of a vessel, which was lying on the shore underneath a shed. In cases of fire the Japanese sound an alarm, and beat drums through the streets.

guards came into our cage, and explained to us the cause of the alarm, and desired us not to trouble ourselves about it. However, during the first few days of our imprisonment at Matsmai, they were far from paying such particular regard to us.

I must not omit mentioning one very laughable circumstance, the real cause of which we were unable to divine. Our meals were superintended by an old officer, sixty years of age. He behaved very civilly to us, and frequently consoled us with the assurance that we should be sent back to Russia. One day he brought to us three portraits of Japanese ladies, very richly dressed. We supposed that he meant merely to shew them to us, and we were about to return them to him, when he desired us to keep them. We refused, but he insisted that we should accept of them. We asked him what use they could be to us; and he replied, that we might amuse ourselves by looking at them when the time hung heavily on our hands. We then asked whether we were in a situation to be amused by the sight of such beauties. Indeed, the figures were so wretchedly designed, that they were calculated only to excite aversion and ridicule. The old man, however, insisted on our accepting of his portraits: we complied with his wish, and afterwards made the interpreter Kumaddschero a present of them. Mr. Moor jokingly told him that we did not wish to keep the portraits, lest we might be induced to request his

countrymen to send the fair originals to amuse us, and asked whether he thought the governor would accede to such a demand. No, no, replied Kumaddschero, laughing, not now; sometime hence perhaps.*

During the last fortnight of the month of October we were occupied in drawing up a statement of our case. We were furnished with paper and ink, and Kumaddschero directed us how to prepare our memorial. At first we entered into a serious dispute with the Japanese on this subject, and refused to write any thing at all. Kumaddschero required that we should write on separate sheets of paper for ourselves and the sailors a kind of affidavit, setting forth where we were born, what were the names of our fathers and mothers, how long we had been in the naval service, &c. This we immediately did; and he next wished us to state on the same sheets of paper all the absurd things respecting which we had been questioned: for instance, that the Russians buried their dead in church-yards on the outside of the city, that they erected crucifixes and other monuments over their tombs, &c. But this we refused to do; declaring that a whole life would be insufficient to note down on paper all our answers to the silly questions which had been put to us, and that the bunyo had

* Indulgences of this kind are, however, granted to the Dutch who visit Japan.

merely required a statement of our case to be translated into Japanese. The Japanese were at first displeased at our refusal, and endeavoured to persuade us to do what they declared would be to our own advantage. We, however, obstinately persisted in our determination; and they then requested that we would write down all the circumstances that had occurred to us since our departure from Petersburgh; adding, that they wished every thing to be made as short as possible, excepting what related to our communications with the Japanese, with every particular of which they desired to be made acquainted. This we agreed to do, and told Kumaddschero that we would, during his absence, write out our case; and when he should be present, with the assistance of Alexei, we would have it translated into Japanese. He requested that we would write the copy which was to be translated in such a way as to leave room between every two lines for one or two more.

We accordingly set to work, and, in order that we might reserve a copy of the statement for ourselves, we first of all wrote it out in a rough style: but in doing this we experienced considerable difficulty: we were obliged to proceed with the greatest caution, lest we should be observed by our guards,* who would have taken the papers

* They scarcely ever turned their eyes away from us.

from us. Mr. Chlebnikoff usually sat near the spars, wrapped in a large night-gown, turning his back towards the Japanese: he wrote with a straw,* and placed his ink in a small wooden spoon†, before him. I walked up and down, and winked to him whenever any of the guards changed their position so as to be able to observe what he was doing. We were afraid to use for this purpose the paper with which Kumaddschero had provided us, lest the sheets might have been counted; we therefore wrote on the coarse paper which had been given to us for pocket-handkerchiefs. Mr. Moor, in the meanwhile, wrote out a fair copy of our statement, which we dictated under pretence of conversing with him. The trouble which our interpreters, Alexei and Kumaddschero, gave us, whilst they were making the translation, is inconceivable. We endeavoured by all possible means to avoid such words and phrases as Alexei could not understand; for example, instead of *very* or *much* we

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* The Japanese write with hair-pencils instead of pens; and Mr. Chlebnikoff could not have used pencils without the knowledge of the Japanese. We were obliged therefore to have recourse to the straws which lay on the floor of our prison.

† The Japanese neither make use of spoons nor forks, but eat their victuals with two slender reeds. Food of a fluid nature they sip out of the dish as we do tea. For this reason the Kuriles had made for us, during our journey, some small wooden spoons; one of which we now converted into an ink-stand.

were obliged to make use of the word *violent*; instead of *hostilities, blows*; instead of *peaceable intentions, good meaning*, &c. Our style of writing would therefore have appeared singular enough to any body but our interpreters. Notwithstanding all this, we were frequently unable to make Alexei comprehend us, and even when he did understand our meaning, he could sometimes find no corresponding words and expressions to convey what we intended to the Japanese interpreter.

Kumaddschero adopted the following plan. He first asked us how the Russians sounded particular words, and then described the pronunciation in Japanese characters, above the word itself. When he had completed a sheet in this way, he would ask us the signification of each of the words, and would write it down in Japanese above the pronunciation. This, however, gave us no little trouble. He was a man of about fifty years of age, naturally stupid: he had no notion whatever of any European language, and was totally ignorant of grammar. If we explained to him the meaning of a word, either through Alexei's interpretation, or by gesticulations and examples, he would listen attentively to every thing we said, and then exclaim *O-o-o*; which, in the Japanese language, is equivalent to "Yes, yes, I understand." We sometimes spent half an hour in explaining a word to him; and when we thought we had made him fully understand it, he would

again ask us what it meant, declaring that he could form no idea of its signification. We frequently lost all patience, and reproached him for his stupidity; but he would excuse himself by saying that he was old, and found the acquirement of the Russian language extremely difficult. He spent two whole days in endeavouring to comprehend the word *imperial.*

We occupied two hours at a time, trying to explain it to him by every example we could think of; and Alexei, who understood the word perfectly well, did all in his power to render it intelligible to him. Kumaddschero would listen attentively to all we said, laugh, and mutter out his *O-o-sso!* but scarcely had we finished speaking, when he would say, I understand *emperor* quite well, but *imperial, imperial,* I cannot comprehend that at all. Prepositions and conjunctions could find no access to his stupid head. It was quite inconceivable to him that we should place them before the noun substantives to which they referred, whilst, in the Japanese language, they are always placed after them. This particularly excited his astonishment, and he would not believe that any thing could be well expressed in so barbarous and imperfect a language as he regarded the Russian to be. When he had once comprehended the meaning of the words, he began to labour at the construction of the sentences. Here new difficulty arose. He maintained that the Russian

words ought to follow each other in the same order as those in the Japanese translation, and wished us to arrange them so, without perceiving that it made absolute nonsense. We assured him that this was impossible; but he declared that our translation would be considered incorrect, if we placed at the end of a sentence a word which ought to stand at the beginning.

At length, after long debates and disputes, we desired him to think on some Japanese and Kurile phrases, and asked him whether he could arrange them word for word in both languages. "I know that is impossible," replied he, "but the Kuriles are an uncultivated people, whose language has no manuscript character; while, on the contrary, books are printed in the Russian." We laughed heartily at this observation, and Kumaddschero, with his accustomed good-humour, joined us. We pledged our word of honour, that though the different European languages contained phrases bearing a resemblance to each other, it was impossible to arrange the vocabularies in the same manner in every one, and that this was the case with regard to the Japanese and Russian languages. This appeared to satisfy him. When he understood the meaning of any sentence in Russian, he endeavoured to construe it by corresponding expressions in Japanese, and no longer troubled himself about the order of the words. He seemed highly pleased,

however, when they happened accidentally to follow each other in the same order. He then hurried on, and was sure to commit blunders; for, in cases were the Japanese words followed each other as in the Russian, but yet conveyed a very different sense, he wrote them down with great satisfaction, and always shewed himself reluctant to make any alterations when we told him he had misunderstood our meaning.

When we had finished our translation, which was not until the middle of November, we drew up a petition to be presented to the bunyo, in which we addressed him by the title of Excellency, and entreated that he would take into consideration every circumstance tending to our justification, and request the Japanese government to set us at liberty, and send us back to Russia. The translation of this petition cost us no less trouble than our memorial. At length, after numerous questions, explanations, remarks, additions, &c. which were made in conformity to the wish of the Japanese officer who examined the translations, we were informed that we should shortly be required to appear before the bunyo, who wished to question us personally concerning our statement, and to be convinced of its accurate translation.

Whilst we were occupied in this way, Alexei had obtained permission to remain alone with us

in the absence of Kumaddschero. As we entertained some doubts about his attachment to us, we thought it prudent, during our conversation, to make use of uncommon, and even foreign words, which he did not understand. Alexei observed this, and told us, with great sensibility, how much he regretted that we should withhold our confidence from him, as he was as good a Russian as ourselves, and served the same emperor. He now informed us that the Japanese had sent to Kunashier part of the Kuriles whom they had seized on the Island of Eetooroop, and that the tale of their having been sent by the Russians was invented by the party who remained at Eetooroop; the rest continued to deny it until the Japanese threatened to put them to the torture, and promised, in case they would avow all, to liberate and reward them. They did not, however, confirm the falsehoods which the others had asserted. "I am now resolved," continued Alexei, "to make known the conduct of the Kuriles, and to suffer torture or even death to prove that I know God, and am as good as any Russian." To shorten his life by ten or twenty years, he said, was a trifling sacrifice, if by that means he could save his soul from eternal damnation. He, therefore, entreated that we would insert in our statement all that he had related to us. He spoke with much firmness and sensibility, and with a degree of eloquence so

unusual to him, that we could not doubt the truth of what he said. We praised him for his good intention, and assured him that he would not be punished in Russia for a falsehood into which his companions had ensnared him; though we feared the Japanese would not credit what he said, and would suspect that we had persuaded him to contradict his former declarations. We told him it would be better to reflect on the best mode of explaining the affair, as the Japanese might, perhaps, ask why he had not confessed the truth on board the ship, or at least as soon as we were made prisoners. "That will not cost me a thought," answered Alexei: "whether they believe me or not is a matter of indifference to me, so as I do but justify myself in the face of Heaven. I wish only to confess the truth: the Japanese may kill me if they will: I shall think it a happiness to die in such a cause." At these words the tears started from his eyes. We were so moved, that we ardently wished for some means of discovering the affair to the Japanese, by which Alexei might not be a sufferer; but this seemed impossible.

He seized the first opportunity of disclosing the whole to Kumaddschero, and told him that the Kuriles had not been sent by the Russians, but that they had visited Japan of their own free will, and for the purposes of carrying on trade. Kumaddschero was struck with amazement at this de-

claration, and called Alexei a fool and a madman. Alexei, however, insisted that he had spoken nothing but the truth, for which he was at any time ready to lay down his life. We knew not whether Kumaddschero immediately communicated this declaration to his superiors. When, however, we were again conveyed to the castle, that the bunyo himself, or some of his superior officers, might examine our translation, Alexei spoke with the same firmness and presence of mind on mention being made of the affair of the Kuriles. The Japanese were astonished at his accusing himself, called him a blockhead, and apparently believed that we had persuaded him to make this confession, which they regarded as a fabrication.

The firmness with which he persisted in the truth of his story induced the Japanese to examine him several times alone. We feared that he might be led to deny his last declaration, and to confirm what he had first of all stated. On his return from the castle, we, therefore, endeavoured to read in his countenance what was passing in his mind. We were frequently permitted to leave our cages, and to go to warm ourselves at the fire in the lobby, we accordingly found an opportunity of desiring the sailors to question Alexei concerning his examination: if his answers were satisfactory, we directed them to cough several times, and if not, they were to remain silent. To our great consolation, we

heard a loud coughing in the evening, as if the sailors had been labouring under a severe cold. When, however, we found opportunities of discoursing with them in private, they expressed the greatest suspicion of Alexei, and firmly believed that he was deceiving us, by telling the Japanese a very different story. In support of this opinion, they told us that he had been endeavouring to learn from them the object of our visit to the Kurile Islands, and had advised them to declare to the Japanese all they knew respecting our intentions. We were, however, convinced that Alexei was sincere, and that he had resolved to bring the truth to light, which finally proved to be the case.

When the Japanese had questioned Alexei on every necessary particular, we were again conducted into the presence of the bunyo. His first question was, whether the Russians had really sent the Kuriles to the coast of Japan; and when Alexei had first disclosed to us that the Kuriles had deceived the Japanese. Here our answers did not fully correspond with each other. Alexei had not exactly understood the agreement made between us, and consequently did not answer in the way we wished. The Japanese laughed outright. We knew not what passed between them; but the Japanese seemed to suspect that Alexei had been fabricating, in concert with us, an untruth, for the purpose of invalidating the declaration which had

been first of all made by the Kuriles. Alexei's presence of mind did not, however, forsake him: he adhered to his assertion, and requested to be confronted with his countrymen. The Japanese would never inform us, whether, after the departure of the *Diana*, they had suffered the Kuriles to leave Eetooroop: if we questioned our guards on this subject, some replied that they knew nothing of the matter, some declared that the Kuriles had been sent home, and others that they were still at Eetooroop. We retired very sorrowfully to our prison; for the Japanese, we were persuaded, looked upon Alexei's declaration as a falsehood of our invention. We were convinced that they regarded us as spies and impostors: Heaven alone was witness to our innocence. The idea of enduring everlasting imprisonment, at a distance from our dear native country, overwhelmed us with despair; and death appeared a thousand times preferable to the situation we were then in. The Japanese observed our despondency, and did all they could to console us: they supplied us with better food than usual, and under the plea of taking care of our health, provided us with new wadded night-dresses.

On the 19th of September we were again conducted to the castle. Our guards, attendants, and the interpreter, were exceedingly cheerful, and informed us that the governor had an agreeable piece of news to communicate to us. We were unable

to divine what they alluded to. We remained for a considerable time in the anti-chamber, before we were conducted to the Hall of Justice, in which all the officers of the city were assembled. The bunyo at length entered; and, having taken his seat, asked us whether we were well,* and whether we were ready to confirm all we had said respecting Chwostoff, and our not having visited their coasts with any evil intention. We re-asserted all that we had before stated; and he then delivered a speech of considerable length, of which Alexei, as usual, could interpret only the principal points. It was to the following effect:—The Japanese at first supposed that we intended to plunder and burn their villages, and founded their opinion on Chwostoff's conduct, and other circumstances already known to us. For this reason they had enticed us into their garrison, and had detained us by force, in order to ascertain what had induced the Russians to commence hostilities, as the Japanese had uniformly entertained friendly dispositions towards them. The bunyo, however, gave credit to our explanation of the affair, and regarded us as innocent: he had accordingly given orders for removing the ropes with

* He never failed to welcome us with an inquiry respecting our health. He frequently asked us whether we were comfortable, whether our food was as good as we wished, and whether our attendants treated us with civility.

which we were bound, and would do all that lay in his power to better our condition. If it depended on him to grant us our freedom, and send us back to Russia, he would do so without hesitation; but we must be informed that the obunyo of Matsmai was not the chief individual of the state, but that Japan was ruled by an emperor and a superior government, whose commands he was bound to obey in all cases of importance, and without whose consent he could not grant us our freedom. On his part, however, he would use all his influence with the government in our favour, and to facilitate our return to Russia. With this view he had sent one of the principal officers of Matsmai to Yeddo, the capital, to endeavour to bring our affair to the wished-for issue. In the meanwhile he entreated us not to give way to despair, but to offer up prayers to Heaven,* and patiently await the decision of the Emperor of Japan. When Alexei had finished his explanation, and the Japanese perceived that we understood him, our ropes were immediately taken off, and they all sincerely congratulated us. Two

* Whenever he said any thing to console us, he reminded us to rely on God, a circumstance with which we were particularly pleased. It was satisfactory to reflect, that the people into whose power fate had delivered us entertained a just idea of the Supreme Being, and placed faith in the Almighty Ruler of all nations, before whom all must sooner or later render an account of their actions.

of them,* in particular, were so moved by this scene, that they shed tears. We returned thanks to the governor and officers for their kind wishes, and the sympathy they had testified for our misfortunes. The governor then retired, and we were conducted from the Hall of Justice. Our guards and attendants now wished us joy, as well as a number of persons, both of high and low rank, whom curiosity had attracted to the spot.

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* The officer next in command to the governor, named Sootzykee Dzeenn-Nne, and our interpreter Kumaddschero.

CHAPTER V.

On returning to our prison, we found, to our astonishment, every thing changed; and we could scarcely comprehend how the Japanese had contrived to effect so complete an alteration in so short a time. The spars or railings in front of our cages were removed; the spaces which before served us for passages were thrown into the cages, the floor was laid with planks in the direction of its length, and covered with new mats, so that our prison was converted into a roomy hall, in which we could walk about and converse at our ease. Near the fire-hearth wooden compartments were formed, in which a tea-cup for each of us was placed; on the hearth stood copper kettles with water for tea,* and a pipe, with a little pouch of tobacco, was laid ready for each. Instead of lamps with fish-oil,

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* The Japanese burn a fire on the hearth from morning till evening, both in winter and summer. Men and women sit round the fire and smoke tobacco. The kettles are never off the fire, as tea is their common beverage for quenching thirst. If they have no tea, they drink warm water, but never taste cold. Even their sagi they like better warm than cold.

candles were burnt. We wondered not a little at this unexpected and rapid metamorphosis.

We had scarcely recovered from our astonishment, when several officers, with their children, came to visit us. They offered us their congratulations, seated themselves by the fire, and smoked and chatted with us. In a word, we seemed no longer prisoners, but guests. Supper was not handed to us as usual in cups or basins, but was served up, according to the Japanese custom, on trays. The vessels used were entirely new, and a finer sort was allotted to the officers than to the sailors. The aliments were better than before, and the sagi was no longer dealt out to us in certain portions, in cups, but was placed before us, as wine is in Europe, so that we might fill it out as we pleased.

This kind treatment revived the hope of again seeing our country, and we passed a tranquil night, for the first time since our imprisonment. The two following days were spent equally agreeably, and we considered our speedy return to Russia as certain. But our joy was not of long duration. New occurrences induced us to doubt the sincerity of the Japanese. We soon had to revert to our old meals, and nothing remained except the new utensils. The oil lamp again served to give us light, and the ropes, which had been removed, were again hung up by our guards in their former situ-

ation. We, besides, learned that the Commandant or Governor of Kunashier, who had entrapped us, his deputy, and the officer who gave us the letter in the Isle of Eetooroop, had arrived at Matsmai, and that the bunyo had resolved to examine Alexei in their presence. From this we plainly perceived that the bunyo did not consider the investigation respecting us as yet brought to a conclusion. On Alexei's return to the castle, he told us that the bunyo had threatened him with death for the falsehood of his former declarations; but that he had firmly stated that he feared nothing, and was ready to die for the sake of truth. Upon hearing this the bunyo ceased to threaten, assumed a tone of good humour, desired him to think no more on what had passed, and informed him that he would soon be called upon again for another examination.

Shortly after this, Kumaddschero brought to us a young man of twenty-five, named Murakami-Teske, and said the bunyo wished us to teach him Russian, in order that he might examine the translation of our manuscript, as the Japanese government required that documents of this description should be certified by two interpreters. We asked what the declaration of the bunyo then meant, when he pledged himself to better our situation, and to procure us our liberty. That is what the bunyo wishes to do, replied Kumaddschero, but the government requires that every paper should

be translated by two interpreters. This statement vexed us not a little, and, as we believed it insincere, we answered the interpreter with some degree of irritation, saying, that "We saw plainly the Japanese were deceiving us, and did not intend to set us free, because they wished to make use of us as teachers; but that they had made a great mistake. We were ready to die, but not to become the instructors of the Japanese. Were they, however, in the first place, to assure us of the certainty of our return to Russia, we would labour day and night until the period of our departure, to teach them all we knew; but after the deceit they had practised, we were not disposed to undertake any such task." Kumaddschero laughed, and protested that there had been no deception, and that we could only think so in consequence of our ignorance of the Japanese laws. At last, Messrs. Moor, Chlebnikoff, and myself, consulted what we ought to do, and resolved to give the new interpreter some instructions until the spring, by which time we should see whether or not the Japanese were inclined to grant us our liberty.

We had scarcely intimated our consent to give instructions to Teske, when he appeared with a chest full of manuscripts, consisting of vocabularies, drawn up by Japanese who had been in Russia, and of information concerning Russia, as each of these individuals had been required to

make a report to the government on every thing he had seen. The physician Togo and Kumaddschero frequently visited us along with Teske. Kumaddschero informed me, that the bunyo wished us, in addition to teaching Teske the Russian tongue, to enable him to draw up a statistical account of Russia and other European states, and that the Japanese would be extremely thankful for that information. We considered, that in the present state of things, some advantage might arise, not only to ourselves, but even to Russia, by our communicating to the Japanese such facts as we thought it advisable to make them acquainted with, and we readily agreed to undertake this task. To avoid, however, being troubled with innumerable questions respecting trifles, we remarked, that persons who, like us, had spent almost the whole of their lives at sea, could not be expected to give all the information respecting Russia which the Japanese might wish to obtain.* We were then very politely informed, that the Japanese would be perfectly satisfied with such information as we were capable of giving them.

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* Among the English books sent to us, we found "Tooke's View of the Russian Empire," which contained almost every thing of which the Japanese would have desired to be informed. We, however, concealed the real nature of that book from them, as we were afraid they would compel us to translate it. Other reasons also induced us to adopt this course.

Teske shewed extraordinary capacity even in the very first lessons we gave him. He had an excellent memory, and pronounced the Russian words with such facility, that we conjectured he had previously learned the language, and was purposely concealing his knowledge of it, or, at least, that he was acquainted with some other European tongues. We had scarcely commenced to instruct him, when he remarked, that Kumaddschero did not pronounce the words in the same manner we did, and quickly caught the correct sound: we had therefore to go over again the whole of the dictionary which Kumaddschero had drawn up, and he wrote above each word its pronunciation, according to the Japanese orthography.

Our pupils visited us daily, and remained with us from morning till night, leaving us only at the time they went to dinner. When the weather was bad they had their victuals brought to them in the prison.* Teske soon learned to read, and pro-

* The Japanese made a distinction between a place of the kind in which we lived and a real prison. The former they called *Oksio*, the latter *Ro*. The difference, according to their account, consisted in there being no fire in a prison, and in the persons confined receiving no allowance of tea, tobacco, or sagi; of the last of which we had every four or five days two tea-cups full given us. In a Ro the food is also worse; even the rice is only served out in limited quantities. The building, and the strictness with which the persons confined are guarded, are,

ceeded to enter in a vocabulary the words he had heard us speak, spelt in the Russian alphabetic character. This Kumaddschero never attempted to do; indeed Teske learned more in a day than Kumaddschero in a fortnight. While collecting information from us respecting Russia, and other European countries, and with great diligence translating the whole into the Japanese, he never failed to enter the Russian words in his lexicon, and to annex to them his own remarks. He also endeavoured to ascertain whether the reports made by the Japanese who had been in Russia were correct. This gave him occasion to propose various questions to us.

We were now allowed the use of pens, ink, and paper, and to write whatever we pleased; and we accordingly proceeded to make collections of Japanese words. We were, however, afraid to put our observations on paper, as we apprehended that the Japanese might, at some future time, take our manuscripts from us.

A few days after we became acquainted with Teske, he brought along with him his brother, a

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however, the same in both places. We at first supposed that an Oksio was a place destined for prisoners of war, but we afterwards learned that Japanese were incarcerated in it. An Oksio may therefore be regarded as merely a prison of a superior kind.

youth of fourteen, and told us that the bunyo desired we should also teach him Russian. "Your bunyo may desire what he pleases," we sharply replied, "but we are not inclined to do whatever he may wish. We have already declared that we would rather sacrifice our lives than remain in Japan on any conditions, still less will we submit to be made pedagogues of. We plainly see the object of all the flattering assurances we have received. We were told that one interpreter was not sufficient for the translation of our memorial, the law requiring two: having consented to teach another we are now required to instruct a boy. In this way a whole school will soon be formed, but that we will never agree to. We are few in number, and unarmed, and our lives may soon be taken, but we are resolved not to be made schoolmasters." This answer irritated Teske extremely. Being of a warm temperament, he was in a rage in an instant; spoke, contrary to the custom of the Japanese, very loud, and threatened that we should be compelled to do what we were ordered, whether we liked it or not. We, with equal warmth, defied his power, or any that might be exercised over us; telling him that to put us to death was easy, but to force us to do what we were determined not to do was impossible. In this way the dispute was kept up for some time, and at last he left us, still in a violent passion.

We expected that this affair would be followed with some disagreeable consequences, but we experienced none. Next morning Teske came to us with a very friendly air, and apologized for the angry manner in which he had expressed himself on the preceding day, and for having thus indiscreetly given us offence. He attributed his conduct to a passionate character which he inherited from nature, and prayed that we would forget what had passed, and again become friends. We, on our part, also thought it prudent to apologize, and a reconciliation was of course soon accomplished. Teske now brought his brother with him, but merely in the quality of a visitor. Some days after, however, he again spoke of the bunyo's wish to make him a Russian interpreter, and said, as if in jest, that it would be better for us if we consented to teach him. We replied, that if the Japanese desired to live in a state of peace and friendship with Russia, we would take his brother and several other youths home with us, where they would not only have the opportunity of learning the Russian language, but a great many other useful branches of knowledge. After this he spoke no more on the subject.

Meanwhile we could not learn whether the assurances the bunyo had given us were likely to be realized, but it appeared probable that the Japanese government was not inclined to credit our state-

ments. It was evident that a doubt was entertained respecting the correctness of our translation of the letter from the officers of the *Diana;* and the Japanese fell at last on the following expedient to discover whether we had not deceived them. They ruled some paper in four columns, in one of which they inserted, in alphabetic order, all the words of the letter, omitting only the words they already knew: such as, my name, the word Japanese, the names of the officers who subscribed the letter, &c. At the bottom of the paper were some words which intimated that the Japanese wished us to fill up the other columns with the meaning of each word in English, French, and Dutch. This paper, we were told, had been sent from the capital, but by whom the words were collected we were not informed. It was supposed that a Japanese who understood Dutch had drawn it up. On observing the artifice, we also thought it prudent to dissemble: we pretended to have no idea whence these words had originated, and that we could extract no meaning from them, particularly as many of them were not Russian. We observed among the words some that commenced with a C (the Russian S) in which an E was written instead of that letter.

From the form of the character we concluded that some European had written the manuscript,*

* Some time after Teske owned to us that a Dutchman, named

who, however, did not understand Russian, as besides the above mentioned blunder, all the words were left in the same number and case as they stood in the letter, and, in some instances, N was changed into R. We, however, positively refused to comply with the request of the Japanese. We declared we had reason to believe, if we did write the words in the different languages required, that the Dutch interpreters, who were hostile to the Russians, would give them a meaning favourable to their own views. As proof that we had ground for this suspicion, we cited the acknowledgment of the Dutch themselves, that they had greatly contributed to the dispute between Resanoff and the Japanese; at the same time we offered to give a translation of any document, but would not explain detached words. The Japanese immediately asked how the Dutch interpreters could know of any contention between them and Resanoff. We then gave them an account of a letter found by an English ship on board of a Dutch prize, in which the Dutch boasted of having succeeded in imbuing the Japanese with an irreconcilable hatred towards the Russians, and stating that our embassy had

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Laxman, had written the words. This man, in consequence of receiving a large sum of money, had agreed never to return to his own country. He lived in Yeddo, the Japanese capital, and was employed in making astronomical observations, and in preparing charts.

been dismissed with such an answer as would put an end to all farther desire on the part of Russia for communicating with Japan.* On their asking why we had not sooner informed them of this circumstance, we answered that we doubted whether what we stated would be credited; and, besides, that we had no idea of the Dutch having interfered in any way in our affair; since, however, it

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* When the *Diana* lay in Portsmouth, we formed acquaintance with a prize agent of the name of Brown. On its being accidentally mentioned in the course of conversation, by Lieutenant Rikord, that Resanoff was dead, Mr. Brown observed, that it was as well he was gone, as the recollection of his having been so simple as to allow himself to be outwitted by the Dutch must have vexed him not a little. On Lieutenant Rikord asking him to explain himself more particularly, Mr. Brown made a statement to the following purport:—A Dutch ship, bound from Batavia to Amsterdam, having been taken and brought into Portsmouth, her papers were, as usual, delivered to him. Among them he found a letter from the secretary of the council at Batavia to the Dutch government, in which, after describing the situation of the Dutch in Nangasaky, and the proceedings of Resanoff's embassy, the writer stated that their interpreters had succeeded in turning every thing to the advantage of the Dutch, and had given the Japanese such an idea of Russia, that they had dismissed Resanoff with an answer which would make the Russians think no more of sending ships to Japan. On our arrival at Kamtschatka, I made a report on this circumstance to the government, a copy of which I also communicated to the commissioner of the Russian American Company, in order that he might give information of this discovery to the directors.

now appeared that some reference must have been made to them on the subject, it was our wish not to afford them an opportunity of injuring us a second time. We then related some anecdotes of the conduct of the Dutch East and West India Companies, which afforded instances of the disregard of every principle of rectitude that stood in the way of the advantageous prosecution of commercial interests; and, for the truth of all that we stated, we appealed to an English work which was among the books that had been sent to us, and which detailed the transactions of those companies, in colours calculated to excite the strongest hatred and contempt of such rapacious traders. The Japanese now ceased to call upon us for the French, Dutch, and English words; but requested that we would explain to them clearly the meaning of each of the words in the first column, in order that they might fill up the blank columns with Japanese words of the same purport. This we could not refuse; and after the conclusion of the labour, which lasted several days, and gave both us and the Japanese interpreters much trouble, we had to set about a translation of Chwostoff's paper, executed in the same manner.

Meanwhile we learned that the officer, who was to proceed to the capital with a report of our case, was ready to set out on his journey, and that the bunyo wished at the same time to send some of our books to the emperor. We were told, how-

ever, that it was intended we should be allowed the use of our books, as a consolation during the tedious hours of our confinement; and were, therefore, desired to pick out such as we wished to retain. The interpreter actually brought us the chest with the books, and we laid some aside in the hope that we should be allowed to keep them; but how were we deceived! The Japanese marked those we had selected, and packed them separately from the others; and, finally, carried off the chest, without leaving us a single book.

Whilst we were looking over the books, a circumstance occurred which embarrassed us not a little. Kumaddschero, in turning over the leaves of one of the volumes, found a piece of red paper, upon which were some Japanese words. It was one of the tickets which in Japan are usually attached to goods. I recollected that it had been given to me by one of our officers in Kamtschatka. Kumaddschero read the ticket, and asked where it had come from, and how it had got into my book. I said it was perhaps Chinese; but I had got it accidentally in Kamtschatka, and had put it into my book as a mark. Yes, yes, replied he, it is Chinese, and put it again into the place in the book from which he had taken it. I was afraid lest this would occasion new investigations, and be taken by the Japanese as a proof of our having participated in Chwostoff's depredations. It was, indeed,

most singular, that such a multitude of circumstances, though some of them were totally insignificant and unworthy of observation in any other case, should conspire to make this jealous, timid, and mistrustful people regard us as implicated in that unfortunate affair. I had accidentally been reading when this bit of paper was brought to me, and being in want of a mark at the moment, I used it for that purpose; and by another accident this book was put into one of the seven or eight chests which our shipmates had sent on shore to us. We often remarked among ourselves, that the writer of a romance could, with difficulty, surround his hero with as many unlucky events as those in which fate had actually involved us: and, jesting with Mr. Moor, who was young and handsome, we used to advise him to try to win the affections of some distinguished Japanese lady, through whose aid we might be enabled to escape. Our adventures would then have been truly romantic—unfortunately we wanted a heroine to complete our story.

Before the departure of the officer for the capital we were conducted into the presence of the bunyo. He wished that we should shew him how the Europeans wore hats and swords, and for this purpose a hat and sword were brought to us. Their curiosity went so far, that they inquired what was denoted by officers wearing their hats sometimes lengthways, and sometimes cross-ways; and were

surprised when we informed them that they might on the parade wear their hats as they pleased, and that no distinction of rank was denoted thereby. They also asked how the sailors wore their hats.* The governor then said, that it would be interesting to the inhabitants of the capital to be enabled to form a notion of the tall stature of the Russians, and therefore wished to have us measured,† which we immediately agreed to. But the curiosity of the Japanese was not yet satisfied. They wished

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* When we were seized at Kunashier, our sailors' hats accidentally fell off, and the Japanese cut them in several places with their swords. When we were imprisoned in the cages at Matsmai, they wished the sailors to sew their hats. The latter, however, declared that that was impossible without needles and scissars; that it was besides a difficult task, and the Japanese might undertake it themselves. They, however, insisted on the sailors doing what they required, and at length resolved to trust them with needles and scissars. The Japanese could, indeed, have done it much better than our sailors, as they are extremely neat in the execution of needle-work; but they probably wished to make it appear that the sailors had cut the hats themselves, as they might otherwise have been called to account for the valour which they had thus thought proper to exercise. We afterwards had frequent opportunities of observing the cunning and dissimulation of the Japanese in affairs of this sort.

† In Europe the two officers and myself would have been looked upon as men of the middle stature; but we were giants among the Japanese. What then must they have thought of our sailors, who would have made no bad appearance even in the imperial guard.

to have our portraits taken in full length; and Teske, who knew how to draw, was appointed to execute them. He drew them in India ink, but in such a style, that each portrait would have passed for that of any other individual, as well as of him it was intended for: except the long beard, we could trace no resemblance in them. The Japanese, however, sent them to the capital, where they were probably hung up in some of their galleries of pictures.

Two days before his departure, the officer* came to our prison, as he said, for the purpose of taking leave of us, and observing how we lived, in order that he might communicate some information to the government on this particular. He assured us that he would do all in his power to bring our affair to a happy issue, and took his leave, after having wished us good health. At the end of December he departed from Matsmai, taking along with him the commander of Kunashier, his deputy, the officer who had given us the letter at Eetooroop,

* We had never before been visited by an officer of such high rank: this rank was styled Ginmiyagu. He was one of the five counsellors of the governor of Matsmai. Two of these counsellors are allowed to reside, by way of relaxation, in the capital; two live with the governor, and the other has the command of Chakodade. They are appointed to fill the latter office in rotation, and exchange annually with those who reside in the capital.

and the Kurile interpreter who had served us in our communications with the Japanese on that island.

After his departure we hoped we should be allowed some rest; but our expectations were quickly disappointed. The more progress Teske made in his knowledge of the Russian language, the more trouble he gave us: he was, however, a kind and generous-hearted creature. He frequently informed us of things at which Kumaddschero had never hinted; and the latter frequently checked him when he thought he was too unreserved in his communications.* Teske was evidently more attached to us than any other Japanese. He seldom visited us without bringing along with him, as a present, something which he considered a dainty; and we had to thank him for many of the favours we experienced from the governor. We now learnt that Teske filled the office of secretary to the governor, with whom he stood in high favour, and that he exerted all his influence to our advantage, though we frequently quarrelled together. Our disputes were chiefly occasioned by his unbounded curiosity, which proved extremely troublesome.

We now thought ourselves fairly rid of all our translations; but the Japanese adhered to their

* Teske was once going to relate to us something respecting Laxman, the Dutchman, who resided at the capital: Kumaddschero, however, muttered a few words between his teeth, and Teske was immediately silent.

grand maxim, that nothing should be done at once, but every thing gradually. Teske and Kumaddschero brought to us the following inscription on Japanese paper: "The Russian frigate *Juno* visited this place, and named this village the Village of Doubt." We were informed that Chwostoff had left such an inscription on a copper-plate in a pagoda in one of the Japanese villages. They wished that we should explain its meaning. Here we had new difficulties to encounter. How were we to translate this name, Village of Doubt; and why was the place so called? When we succeeded in explaining the word Doubt to the Japanese, they themselves doubted whether they had not misunderstood our meaning, as they supposed it impossible that in such a case the word could have been so applied. We, on our part, were equally unable to form any notion of the sense in which Chwostoff had used this phrase. When we assured them that no Russian could explain the meaning of the writer of the inscription, they suspected that we wished to deceive them, and to conceal something which might tend to our own disadvantage. This business occupied us several days. They then wished us to translate an epitaph, which the pilot Lovzoff had cut upon the trunk of a tree at Nemuro, under which a sailor had been buried, who died of the scurvy during the time that Laxman wintered in that place. This task, however, was completed in

an hour; for the Japanese had, doubtlessly, been informed of the meaning of this inscription by Laxman himself, and were satisfied on finding that our explanation corresponded with his.

The Japanese kept us constantly employed in translating, with the view of making themselves acquainted with the Russian language, but still more out of curiosity and distrust. They brought to us, for example, a copy of the communication which Resanoff had delivered to the Japanese from our emperor. Of the title, in which the Emperor of Japan was mentioned, they could understand only the words "of Niphon:" they assured us that their emperor had never borne such a title, and were unable to divine what had induced the Russians to make use of it.

When we made inquiries respecting his real title, they told us it was extremely long and difficult to remember. In the same manner they concealed from us their emperor's name. They did not, indeed, exactly refuse to make us acquainted with it; but every individual to whom we addressed ourselves for information on this point gave us a different answer, so that we could never learn his real name. We, however, understood, that, according to the Japanese laws, no subject could bear the name of the reigning emperor,* and that every individual

* The Japanese have both family names and proper names;

who may happen to have the same name as the hereditary prince, is obliged to adopt a new one on his ascending the throne. In the document mention was made of all the presents which had been sent from the Russian court to the Emperor of Japan. We had learnt from Captain Krusenstern's Narrative that all these things had been exhibited to the Japanese, and yet our interpreter asked us to give him a description of them. We afterwards found that they had in their possession a minute description of these articles, which not merely

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but the former are always placed before the latter. For instance, *Wechara* is a family name, and *Kumaddschero* a proper name; yet our interpreter was called *Wechara-Kumaddschero*. In familiar conversation both names are seldom mentioned; and, in the same way as in confidential discourse, only one name is used when they address any individual to whom they wish to shew particular respect. In the latter case, however, they make use of the word *Sama*, which is equivalent to the title Mr., and place it either after the family name or proper name: as, WECHARA *Sama*, TESKE *Sama*, &c. The Japanese likewise attach other meanings to this word *Sama*. It corresponds with our words Lord, God, ruler, and master: for example, TENTO-SAMA signifies the Lord in Heaven; KUMBO-SAMA, the Japanese political emperor (*Kumbo* is the name of the present reigning family). KIN-RAI-SAMA is the Japanese spiritual emperor; for *Kin-Rai* is his family name; and OBUNJO-SAMA is Lord Governor. *Sama*, however, is not attached to any other titles: they never say GINMIYAGU-SAMA, &c. I must likewise observe, that this word is pronounced in the same way in all the above cases, although the spelling varies in each.

pointed out the size and use of each, but likewise mentioned the time and place at which they had been manufactured. They shewed us this description, from which they translated several passages. The cunning of the Japanese is truly astonishing. When they wish to discover any thing, they put their questions in such a way as would induce a belief that they entertain not the slightest notion of it, and have heard it mentioned for the first time in their lives: if, on the contrary, they fancy they possess sufficient information on any subject, they never pretend ignorance, but frankly acknowledge all they know respecting it.

In addition to the Russian papers of which the Japanese wished to have translations, Teske and Kumaddschero brought to us a number of other things, and some translations of European books, of which they requested us to state our opinion; they, however, showed themselves most anxious for the translations; and our communication with them on those subjects afforded us many opportunities of remarking their distrustful disposition. Among other things, they shewed us a Chinese painting, representing the city of Canton, where flags were flying on the factories of different European nations, and they asked us how it happened that the Russian flag was not there. We told them the reason of this, and they then inquired why we had intended to enter a harbour in which there were

no Russian merchants. They were not a little astonished, and would scarcely credit what we said, when we told them, that in such cases the people of Europe were accustomed to assist each other, to whatever nation they might happen to belong. Teske, besides, shewed us the drawing of a brass eighteen pounder, which had been cast in Holland. He made a great parade about it, and told us that the Japanese had taken it along with many other pieces of cannon, after a great victory, which they had gained during their last war with the Coreans, about two hundred years ago. We, however, perceived, from a Latin inscription, that it had been cast scarcely a century ago, for the Dutch East India Company; but that we might not put Teske to the blush, we expressed much astonishment at the exemplary valour of the Japanese. He, besides, shewed us a drawing of the Nadeschda, in which Resanoff had sailed to Nangasaky, and inquired what was meant by the flag at the stern of that vessel, and other European flags, which Captain Krusenstern had probably hoisted for the purpose of ornamenting his ship. But we were most of all astonished on seeing some charts, which had been executed by the Japanese, whom Resanoff brought with him from Petersburgh, and which described the course of the vessel. On these maps were marked Denmark, England, the Canary Islands, Brazil, Cape Horn, the Marquesas Islands,

Kamtschatka, and Japan: in a word, every sea through which they had sailed, and every coast they had visited. The distances and situations of places were, it is true, quite inaccurate; but when it is considered that these men were, probably, only common sailors, that they executed these charts from recollection, and that the situation of the sun was their only guide in determining in what quarter of the world they were sailing, this inaccuracy is no proof against the general capability of the Japanese.

Teske informed us that a number of Japanese translations of European books had been sent from the capital, in order that we might examine them, and pronounce our opinion of them: he added, that as nothing had yet been decided in our favour, the governor did not wish to distress us, but merely requested that we would compare three of these translations, and that the rest might remain until he received orders for our liberation, in case we should then have time to inspect them. The following are the titles of the three books which Teske named:—

Benyowsky's Conspiracy and Escape from Kamtschatka. An Account of the Expedition of the Russians and English to Holland in the year 1799. Geography of the Russian Empire.

Teske paid but little attention to the two first

mentioned books, but he read the last from beginning to end. We constantly found it necessary to make observations and contradictions on this work, which was a description of Russia at a period in which the country was in a very rude state; and though the remarks it contained were for the most part correct, yet they related to our ancestors, and not to us. The Japanese, who adhere to their old laws and customs with a most extraordinary pertinacity, were unable to conceive how a whole nation could have undergone so great a change in such a short period.

Our religion was likewise a subject which excited the curiosity of the Japanese. Teske requested, in the name of the governor, that we would make him acquainted with the doctrine of our faith, and on what it was founded. As a reason for making this solicitation, he said that the Governor of Nangasaky, the place which is visited by the Dutch, was very well acquainted with their religion, and it would be very discreditable to the Governor of Matsmai to return to the capital without being able to state any particulars respecting our's.

We were very willing to communicate to them the moral tenets of the Christian religion, the ten commandments, and to give them some notion of the Evangelists; but this was not what the Japanese wanted. They told us that these principles were

not peculiar to Christians, but that they were common to all individuals who had good hearts;* and that the Japanese themselves had long been familiar with them. They most particularly wished to be made acquainted with our form of worship, as their countrymen who had been in Russia had frequently visited our churches, and had written down all the observations they made respecting the liturgy. They asked us why the priests several times opened and shut a door, and what was contained in the goblets which they brought out, &c. But these were circumstances which, with the limited means we possessed of making ourselves understood, we found it impossible to explain. We, therefore, observed, that in order to make them acquainted with the secrets of our faith, it was necessary either that we should speak Japanese perfectly well, or they understand Russian better; and that, since both parties were deficient in these requisites, we dared not undertake to communicate with them on matters of such importance; since they might probably imbibe false notions of our religion, and even be led to regard as ridiculous things which are sacred. But we did not thus get rid of the importunity of the Japanese. They continually repeated their questions concerning our mode of wor-

* According to the Japanese idiom, *white hearts:* they call an individual of bad character a man with a *black heart*.

ship; and we were, at length, compelled positively to declare, that we would not converse on these matters until we were fully competent to understand each other.

Even Alexei was not left unemployed. The Japanese endeavoured to extract information from him respecting the Kurile Islands, of which they made him draw maps in the best way he could. Alexei blotted abundance of paper, and furnished ample contributions for the geographical depôts of the Japanese. To account for their applications, they said that their laws required that they should seek information from all foreigners who visited them, and observe and write down every thing, whether true or false, which they might be told. They alleged, that by comparing the different accounts they thus received, they were enabled to separate truth from fiction, and to derive much advantage from this practice.

When we inquired whether any news that concerned us had arrived from the capital, the interpreters usually replied that they did not know: sometimes, however, they assured us that the investigation of our case was going on well, and that we had reason to expect a favourable issue. In January, Teske, and afterwards Kumaddschero, told us as a secret, that the bunyo had received orders to remove us to a convenient house, and to render our situation altogether more comfortable; and that

this change would take place on the Japanese new-year's day.* We had previously received the same information from our guards; but as they had often made statements which never were realized, we supposed that this was only a new invention with which they wished to console us. We, however, believed the interpreters, and rejoiced not at the idea of the improved accommodation which was promised us, but at the ray of hope of being permitted to return to our country, which such a change of system afforded. We, therefore, looked forward to the month of February with the greatest impatience.

The bunyo wished to present us with new clothes on the approach of the new year. He, therefore, ordered that some questions should be put to us respecting the colours and materials, and also the form in which we might wish them to be made. We thanked him for his attention, but wished to decline his offer, as we had already a superfluity of clothes, and needed no addition to our wardrobe while in prison. He, however, persisted, and the

* At this time the Japanese new year commenced on the first of February. As they reckon by lunar years, but supply the difference between the lunar and solar reckoning by adding a thirteenth month to each year of the proper number for that intercalation, their new-year's day corresponds every nineteen years with the solar new year.

interpreter took away Mr. Chlebnikoff's uniform coat for a pattern. After some days had elapsed new clothes were brought to us. Those intended for the officers were made of taffetas, with linings of the same, and wadded; but the dress provided for me was of a green colour, while that given to Mr. Chlebnikoff and Mr. Moor was brown.* The sailors received wadded cotton clothes of a grey colour. The Japanese could not imitate the fashion of our uniforms. They perceived themselves the want of resemblance, and expressed astonishment at the skill of the European tailors.

It became the practice, after the alterations had been made in our prison, for the guards to be constantly beside us: they sat down with us at the fire, smoked tobacco, and chatted. They were in general extremely friendly, giving us comfits, fine tea, and

* Messrs. Moor and Chlebnikoff often wore the clothes which the Japanese provided for us; but I always appeared in my frieze jacket and pantaloons. The bunyo asked me why I did not wear the articles which the Japanese had furnished, and supposed, that because I was the commander I wished to be dressed differently from the inferior officers. I smiled at this idea, and observed, that in Russia the colour and materials of our dress were the same, as he might see by inspecting our uniforms, in which the only distinctions to be found consisted in marks, which denoted our respective ranks. It is probable, however, that he still retained his opinion, as he, on this occasion, ordered my dress to be made of a different colour from the rest.

other delicacies; but all this was privately, as they were prohibited from making us any presents without the permission of their officers. One of these men, who spoke the Kurile tongue, told us, as a secret, that the pelt-hunters who run away from Chwostoff, on the Island of Eetooroop, had, after the departure of the ship, been found drunk on the shore, and killed by the Kuriles. The Japanese government was very much displeased with this; for though perhaps they would have ordered them to be executed, they believed their premature death had deprived them of much important information, which might perhaps long since have brought about a reconciliation between Russia and Japan. We learned likewise, that an Aleute, named Jacoff, had escaped from Chwostoff, at Sagaleen, and had died there, some time since, of the scurvy. His statements were calculated to contribute not a little to our justification; for he maintained, that the Company's ships had attacked the Japanese without any superior authority; declaring, that he was assured of this by all the Russians who were on board of those vessels. His hatred of Chwostoff was carried so far, that he painted him in the blackest colours, and had requested the Japanese officers to furnish him with a musket, in order that he might lie in wait for the Russian commander, and shoot him when he came on shore, in revenge for the injuries he had received from him. The cause of this

violent hatred was his having on one occasion been flogged for drunkenness, by order of Chwostoff. According to Alexei's representation, the Japanese themselves, and not the Kuriles, had killed the pelt-hunters: the latter certainly would not have committed that atrocity of their own accord. As a proof of his statement, he related the following story, which, though certainly deciding nothing for the truth of his asseveration, deserves, on other grounds, to be mentioned here.

The Japanese had for several years carried on war against the Kuriles inhabiting the mountains in the northern parts of Matsmai; and, unable to subdue them by force, resolved to obtain their object by artifice and treachery. They accordingly made proposals of peace, which the Kuriles accepted with the greatest joy; and it was agreed between the parties that the treaty should be publicly celebrated. The Japanese built for that purpose a large house, and to an entertainment given in it, forty of the Kurile chiefs, and a number of their bravest warriors, were invited. The Kuriles, who are fond of ardent liquors, were easily prevailed upon by their new friends to drink deeply: the Japanese, on their part, feigned intoxication, and gradually withdrew. When they were all out of the house, the doors were closed, and the Japanese murdered their guests, by shooting them with arrows, through apertures which had been prepared

for that purpose in the walls. They then cut off the heads of the Kuriles, salted them, and sent them to the capital as trophies of victory.

This was a relation which could not have failed to excite horror in men at perfect liberty; what feelings, then, was it not calculated to rouse in us, who were actually in the power of a people capable of perpetrating so perfidious and atrocious a deed? Poor Alexei excused himself for not having given us this information before, by saying, that he was afraid it would render us uneasy; he added, that he could describe several similar transactions of the Japanese, but that he saw this first relation had not particularly gratified us. We smiled at his simplicity, and observed, that as he had already told us the worst, we wished to hear the rest merely to satisfy our curiosity. Alexei, however, did not rightly comprehend us, and retained his idea that his narrative had displeased us.

Meanwhile February arrived, and the Japanese new year commenced, but we heard not a word of the promised house. We supposed that the Japanese, who were busy keeping their holidays, could not find time to think on us, and therefore did not expect the fulfilment of their promise before the middle of the month;* our expectation,

* The Japanese occupy an entire month in celebrating the new year; though the period of the festival, strictly speaking, is

however, was not only deceived, but our situation was rendered worse than it had been. We were supplied with nothing but rice and salted fish for our meals. During the first five or six days of the festival, neither the interpreters nor any officer visited us. When we saw the former, we reproached them with having deceived us. Kumaddschero assured me that the reason we had not been removed to the house was, that the fish at that season approached the coast, and that all the inhabitants

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only from the new to the full moon, or a fortnight. During this period the courts are closed; all labour and business suspended, and nothing except visiting and feasting is thought of; but in the remaining half of the month the more industrious resume their occupations. The new year is the principal festival in the calendar of the Japanese. They, therefore, make extraordinary preparations at its approach, and procure new clothes for it, as we do at Easter. Custom requires that each person should visit all his acquaintances in the place in which he resides, and send letters of congratulation to those which are at a distance. Our interpreters and guards were accordingly employed for some days previous to the festival in writing letters of that kind and visiting cards. On the latter, the names of the person from whom the card comes, and to whom it is delivered, are written, and also the opportunity by which it is presented is described. Teske translated for us one of his congratulatory letters. It was addressed to the officer at Kunashier, by whom we were entrapped, and was to the following effect:—"Last year you were "happy, and I much wish that in this new year you may also "enjoy good health, and experience happiness and prosperity "in every undertaking: I still respect you as formerly, and re-"quest that you will not forget me.—Teske."

were, from morning till night, so busily engaged in the fishery, that no men could be found to clear away the snow, which had nearly buried up to the roof of the house allotted for us, as it had been all the winter unoccupied. This excuse was truly laughable, for it was difficult to believe that in a town, the population of which amounted to 50,000, men could not be found to do this work. It now appeared to us absolutely certain, that the Japanese practised deception for the purpose of tranquillizing us, and gradually reconciling us to our fate. We spoke our minds frankly on this subject to the interpreters; but they laughed, and assured us that we were labouring under a mistake. While this uncertainty prevailed respecting the house, the bunyo took the opportunity of conferring upon us two favours: he sent us some of our books to read, and razors that we might shave ourselves. Our beards were very long, and their growth was at first exceedingly disagreeable, but we were now accustomed to the inconvenience; and Mr. Chlebnikoff and I refused to avail ourselves of the permission to shave, especially as it was required we should perform the operation in the presence of an officer and other guards, lest we should commit suicide. The Japanese at first left it to us to shave or not as we pleased, but when they found that Mr. Chlebnikoff and I did not use the razors, they intimated a disposition to compel us, telling us that the bunyo

wished to see us without our beards. We replied, that it was the bunyo's duty to do us justice, and that for that purpose it must be indifferent to him whether we appeared before him with or without beards.

At last we learned from the interpreters that our case did not stand in the most favourable situation in the capital. Teske told us that all the officers in Matsmai, and even all the inhabitants of that town, were convinced of the truth of our declarations; but the members of the supreme government were not of the same opinion, and believed that the interpreter Kumaddschero did not sufficiently understand Russian to give a correct translation of our answers and our memorial, particularly as his version of the latter was in several passages totally unintelligible. We asked Teske what he thought the government intended to do with us? He answered that it was not exactly known, as nothing was yet decided on; many, however, were of opinion that we would be set at liberty. We plainly perceived that it was his wish to save us from complete despair, but his assurances afforded us little consolation. In a consultation, we all concurred in opinion, that there was no hope of our being set at liberty by the Japanese; flight, therefore, was the only means of deliverance. But Mr. Moor, and the two sailors, Simanoff and Wassiljeff, would by no means consent to adopt

this desperate course, though Mr. Chlebnikoff and I did all we could to persuade them to it. We explained to them, that it was not impossible to escape from the place of our confinement, to make ourselves masters of a vessel on the sea shore, and then, with the help of Heaven, to proceed either to Kamtschatka or the coast of Tartary, as circumstances might render necessary. We represented that, instead of lingering and wasting away our lives in prison, it would be far more glorious to die in the sea, the element to which we had consecrated our lives, and in which, every year, so many of our brother sailors were buried. We allowed the undertaking to be difficult, but not totally desperate and impracticable; since storms and waves had repeatedly driven Japanese vessels to the Russian coasts, why, we asked, might we not hope to reach the point to which we should be steering? But all our arguments and representations were in vain. Mr. Moor absolutely refused to enter into our design, and, together with the two sailors, turned a deaf ear to all our persuasions. In the hope, however, that they might one day or other be induced to undertake the execution of this project, we began to collect a store of provisions. Unperceived by our guards, we daily laid by a portion of our boiled rice; and, during the night, when it had become dry, deposited it in small bags.

Meanwhile the spring season commenced. The

day became longer, and the cold, which gradually diminished, was superseded by the genial rays of the sun. At the commencement of March, we were, by order of the bunyo, frequently permitted to walk in the yard. On the 4th of that month Teske informed us that it would be much better were we permitted to go to the capital, where we might have an opportunity of convincing the members of the government of the truth of our memorial, and of interceding for our liberation, as it was very doubtful whether that object would be attained without our personal appearance there. He added, that every individual in the capital entertained the conviction that Chwostoff had acted by command of the Russian government, and that our sole object in visiting them was to inspect their harbours, with the view of afterwards overwhelming them with a greater force.

We, besides, learned from Teske another circumstance, which was of the utmost importance to us. He told us that Chwostoff, during his first attack, had carried off some Japanese, whom he detained at Kamtschatka during the winter. In the following year, however, he landed them on the Island of Lissel (Pic de Langle), giving them a paper addressed to the governor of Matsmai, which would be shewn to us in course of time. Teske either could not or would not inform us by whom this paper was signed; but as the Japa-

nese had already, as we believed, shewn us every bit of paper on which any Russian words were written, even the prayers distributed by the Kuriles, and had anxiously required translations, and yet had made no mention of this paper, it appeared to us that it must be a declaration of war, or some other important document of Chwostoff. It seemed to us highly probable that Teske was acquainted with the contents of this paper, and that the Japanese concealed it from us, under the supposition that they could, in the end, fully convict us of deception. What then could we urge in our justification. Teske had no sooner quitted us, than Mr. Moor declared that he perceived plainly all the horrors of our situation, and was ready to attempt his escape along with us; and Simanoff and Wasseljeff expressed the same determination.

One thing only remained doubtful, whether it would be prudent to trust Alexei with our secret, and persuade him to escape along with us, or whether we should leave him behind. We feared to make him acquainted with our design, lest he might betray us; and, on the other hand, we were destressed at the idea of abandoning him, to endure the hard punishment which the Japanese would not fail to inflict upon him. We at first resolved to leave a letter, addressed to the governor, assuring him of Alexei's innocence. Mr. Moor, however, advised us to make him acquainted with our

plan, and to take him along with us, as we might find him extremely useful, owing to his knowledge of the various roots and herbs which were fit to eat; and his experience in navigating the waters of that part of the world. We accordingly unfolded our design to him. He at first testified the utmost amazement, changed colour, and was unable to utter a syllable. He, however, quickly recovered himself, declared that he was as good a Russian as any one of us, that he acknowledged the same God and emperor, that whether we were right or wrong, he was ready to escape along with us, and though we might be swallowed up by the waves, or put to death by the Japanese, he would share in every misfortune we might encounter. We were not a little astonished at Alexei's resolution and firmness, and we now began to deliberate on the means of carrying our design into execution.

There were two ways by which we might succeed in escaping from our confinement. Two of the soldiers who were set to guard us usually sat sound asleep by the fire until midnight, and some of the rest were so addicted to drinking strong liquors, that they frequently came to us in a state of intoxication, when they supposed there was no danger of their being detected by their superiors. During the night, and taking advantage of a favourable wind, it would be easy suddenly to seize

our guards, and bind and gag them to prevent their giving any alarm. We might then gain possession of their sabres, and climbing over the fence into the hollow, we might cautiously reach the sea-shore, and there endeavour to make ourselves masters of a vessel, in which we might sail to the coast of Tartary. This project, however, appeared impracticable, and we accordingly laid down another plan. At midnight our guards, having closed our doors, were accustomed to retire to the guard-room, were they generally fell asleep, without thinking it necessary to watch us with that degree of rigour which they had at first observed. At the further corner of their guard-room was a small door, which was kept fast locked and sealed; but as we had in our possession a large sharp knife, we might cut through the beam to which the hinges were affixed, and having effected our escape from the guard-room, we might soon cross the fence, or wooden wall, by means of a ship-ladder which we had made out of a sail-cloth hammock.* That we might not be totally unarmed, we intended, before the execution of our enterprise, to make some

* When we were seized at Kunashier, a seaman's hammock happened to lie under a sail in our boat. We afterwards requested the Japanese to give us the sail instead of a coverlet; but this they refused to do. Whilst we were in Chakodade, however, they gave one of the sailors this hammock, which we converted into a ladder.

pikes out of the long poles on which our linen was hung to dry after it had been washed.

We waited with impatience for the first favourable night to attempt the execution of our plan. At length, on the 8th of March, the wind began to blow from the east, accompanied by fogs and rain,* and we were persuaded that if it continued without change for a few days, we might reach the Tartar coast, in case we succeeded in gaining possession of a vessel. At the approach of twilight we began secretly to make preparations unperceived by our guards; but night had no sooner set in, than the clouds dispersed, the stars began to twinkle, and the wind changed to the west. We were thus compelled to postpone our attempt.

Two days after, the wind again blew in a favourable direction, and the weather was as fine as we could have wished it to be. Mr. Chlebnikoff expressed a hope that on the following night, with the help of Heaven, we should attempt the execution of our plan, when, to our great astonishment and vexation, Mr. Moor replied, that he would neither dissuade us from our purpose, nor do any thing to prevent our carrying it into effect; but that, for his own part, he was resolved to submit to the destiny which awaited him, and never to

* In these parts, fogs are the never-failing attendants of an easterly wind.

make any attempt towards effecting his own liberation. We endeavoured to prevail on him to resume his former determination, and conjured him to reflect on the inconsistency of his conduct; but all our representations were of no avail. He replied, with ill-humour and warmth, that he was no child, and knew very well how to act, that he would place no obstacle in the way of our escape, which we might effect without him, and desired us never more to mention the business in his hearing, since all our arguments and persuasions would be to no purpose.

From that moment a complete change took place in the behaviour of Mr. Moor. He avoided entering into conversation with us, and when we spoke to him he would answer us briefly, and sometimes even with rudeness; though, to the Japanese, he adopted quite an opposite mode of conduct. He began to imitate their customs: he no longer addressed the officers in the European way, as he before used to do, but spoke to them as if they had been his superiors, and even treated them with a degree of awe and veneration which excited the amazement and laughter of the Japanese themselves.

In this critical situation I scarcely knew how to act. I, however, determined on requiring that Mr. Moor should promise, on oath, not to make known our escape until the morning after it should have

taken place; and that in return we would leave behind us a letter to the governor, and would pledge ourselves, in case of our being taken, to declare that Mr. Moor had no knowledge of our enterprise. The sailors, however, were of opinion that no reliance could be placed on Mr. Moor's assurances. In support of their assertion, they related so many things respecting this officer, that I was at length convinced it would be unsafe to trust him in these important circumstances. The interpreter having assured us that, when the warm weather set in, we should be permitted to walk about the city, escorted by a party of Japanese, we resolved to delay the execution of our enterprise, in the hope that we might likewise be conducted to the out-skirts of the city, where we might find an opportunity of effecting our liberation by force; we should then have had no reason to fear Mr. Moor. He had not hitherto manifested any intention of discovering our design to the Japanese; we therefore pretended that we had, like him, relinquished every thought of escaping, and had come to the determination of patiently awaiting the fate which destiny had allotted for us; he did not, however, change his suspicious conduct.

In the meanwhile we formed an acquaintance with a geometrician and astronomer, named Mamia-Rinso, who had been sent from the Japanese capital. The first time he came to visit us, he was ac-

companied by our interpreter, who informed us that he had shortly before quitted Yeddo, from whence the government, by the advice of a physician, who was skilled in the European practice, had sent us some medicines to prevent the scurvy, a disorder which is extremely frequent and dangerous in Japan. These medicines consisted of two flasks of lemon-juice, a number of lemons and oranges, and a considerable quantity of dried herbs, of very fragrant smell, and which, according to the directions of the Japanese, we sprinkled in our soup. The bunyo, besides, took this opportunity of sending us three or four pounds of brown sugar, and a box full of red pepper in husks, boiled in sugar, of which the Japanese are very fond.* But we quickly discovered that these presents were intended to persuade, or rather to force us to communicate to the Japanese geometrician our methods of taking nautical and astronomical observations. To this end he was continually making solicitations. He shewed us his instruments, which consisted of an English sector, and astrolabe, with a compass, a case of mathematical instruments, and quick-silver for forming the artificial horizon, and requested that we would shew him how the Europeans employed these things. He visited us every day, and frequently remained with us from morning until evening, dur-

* The bunyo had before frequently sent us presents of sugar, pepper, and such articles.

ing which time he gave us an account of his travels, and produced his plans and sketches of the different countries he had visited. We inspected them with the greatest curiosity. The Japanese looked upon him as a very learned man. They always listened to him with the utmost attention, and wondered how he could have travelled to so many different places: he had visited all the Kurile Islands, as far as the seventeenth, Sagaleen, and even the land of Mandshuren, and had sailed through the river Amur. He manifested his pride, however, by a constant boasting of the deeds he had performed, and the labours he had endured. In recounting his adventures, he shewed us his travelling pan, in which he cooked his food during his journies. He daily stewed or boiled something on our fire, and treated us with it. He had a small still, with which he made spirits from rice, and which was kept constantly going. He drank freely of the liquor himself, and shared it as readily with us, to the no little satisfaction of our sailors. He could ascertain the sun's height, from the natural or artificial horizon, with his sector, and knew how to find the latitude of a place by observing the sun's altitude at noon. In his calculations he used some tables of declination, and other helps of that kind, which he said had been translated into Japanese from a Dutch book. As we had none of our tables in our possession, we could not well decide on the accuracy of those he employed.

Mamia-Rinso commnnicated to us several pieces of interesting information, the authenticity of which we verified by a comparison with the statements made by other Japanese, and an account of which cannot be indifferent to our government. I shall take another occasion of mentioning these communications.

Soon after our first acquaintance with this man, we learned that he was not only celebrated among the Japanese for his learning, but was regarded as a most distinguished warrior. He was in the island of Eetooroop at the time that Chwostoff landed, and fled with some other soldiers to the mountains. He was, however, hit by a Russian ball, and received a flesh wound, from the effects of which he soon recovered. It was a fortunate wound for him, since it was the means of procuring him promotion and a pension. He declared, that after Chwostoff's attack, the Japanese had it in contemplation to send three ships to Okotzk, in order to raze that place to the ground. We used to laugh at this boast, observing that we were sorry the Japanese had not sent thither thirty, or even three hundred ships instead of three, as we were certain none of them would ever have got back. He, on his part, appeared offended at this observation, and asserted that the Japanese were not inferior in war to other nations. I must here remark, that this was the first Japanese who ventured, in our presence, to swagger and assume

importance on account of his military skill, and his vapouring made not only us but even his own countrymen sometimes laugh at him. He had heard, that besides ascertaining the latitude by the sun's altitude, the longitude could be found by lunar and astral observations, and wished us to shew him how that was done. We were, however, unable to comply with his request, as we had not the necessary tables, and could not make ourselves understood on such subjects with all the assistance of our interpreters. He shewed great displeasure at our refusal, and said that Japanese men of learning would soon arrive, with Dutch interpreters, from the capital, to extract explanations from us on scientific subjects, and that we would be compelled to answer their questions.

This news was not very consoling, for it indicated that the Japanese intended to force us to give them instructions. Mr. Moor had voluntarily offered his services in that respect, but had declined teaching mathematics on the ground of inability; he, however, advised the Japanese to resort to Mr. Chlebnikoff for instruction in the mathematical sciences, as he was well acquainted with those branches of knowledge.

Though Mamia-Rinso was decidedly inimical to us, we were not always engaged in disputes with him; on the contrary, we conversed together in an apparent friendly manner on various subjects, among

which the political was the most important. He maintained that the Japanese had well-founded reasons for believing that the Russians entertained evil designs upon them, and that the Dutch had spoken truth in their information respecting several European courts. Teske, however, was not of this opinion. He believed that the Dutch had designedly infused suspicion into the Japanese government against the Russians and the English; they asserted that these two nations, then united against France and her allies, had determined to extend their power towards the east; that England acting by sea, and Russia by land, and reciprocally supporting each other, had for their ultimate object to divide China and Japan between them. As proofs of this intention, the Dutch cited the progress which those nations had in a short time made in their approaches towards Japan; Russia being in possession of Siberia and the Aleute Islands, and England of India. Captain Broughton, who twice visited the Japanese coasts, and on both occasions had intercourse with the natives, performed these voyages at the time when Russia and England were at war with France and Holland; and, according to Teske's statement, the Dutch then asserted that the English were examining the Japanese harbours with the view of afterwards attacking them. We protested that this notion was groundless, and endeavoured to explain to the Japanese the real cause of Captain

Broughton's visits to their coasts, which was well known to the Dutch, and also to convince them that the false representations of that people originated in selfishness and jealousy, as they were afraid that the Japanese might consent to a commercial intercourse with England and Russia, whereby they would be deprived of the immense advantages they derived from their fraudulent traffic, and the sale of trifling articles at a most exhorbitant price. Teske agreed with me, and appeared firmly persuaded that the representations of the Dutch proceeded solely from avarice and envy; but Mamia-Rinso still retained his favourable opinion of them. On this occasion, Teske gave an account of a transaction which had rendered the Japanese government so inimical to the English, that he was of opinion, if a ship of that nation arrived on the coast, the crew would be liable to be dealt with as we had been.

One or two years after Resanoff's departure, a large ship, under Russian colours, appeared at the entrance of the harbour of Nangasaky. Some Dutch and Japanese were, by order of the governor, sent on board, where the former, one excepted, were detained; the latter, and the Dutchman, were directed to return ashore with a notification that the vessel was an English ship; that the rest of the Dutch were kept on board in consequence of the two nations being at war, and that they would be carried off as prisoners, unless the Japa-

nese supplied the ship with a certain number of bullocks and pigs. While waiting for an answer, the English sailed up and down the harbour in boats, and made soundings. Meanwhile the Dutch persuaded the governor to pay the ransom demanded, and the Dutchmen were sent on shore. The governor had to atone with his life for his conduct in this affair; and orders were immediately issued to act hostilely against the English wherever they might be found.

On our remarking that the Dutch cheated the Japanese by selling them wretched merchandize at high prices, Teske replied that the Japanese government was perfectly sensible of that; but, notwithstanding, would not alter the old arrangements. In our conversation on this subject, he related the following anecdote. The war with England having prevented the Dutch from trading direct to Japan, they freighted ships in the United States of America, with valuable cargoes for Japan. These ships entered Nangasaky under the Dutch flag. The cargoes were delivered before the Japanese began to take particular notice that both these ships and their crews differed very much in appearance from the vessels and seamen they had been accustomed to see. But suspicion was in particular excited by the superior quality of the goods, which were, in fact, all English: the government, on discovering this, immediately ordered

the ships to be reloaded and dismissed from the harbour.

About the middle of the month of March, the governor gave us permission to walk about the town and its environs. We twice made excursions to the distance of four leagues, accompanied by five or six imperial, and three or four of the principality soldiers, under the direction of one of the interpreters. Besides this escort, we were attended by several servants, who carried our tea equipage, sagi, mats, and not unfrequently provisions for our dinner. A police officer from the town was also attached to our escort; he preceded us, and pointed out the road we were to take.

The Japanese often took us four wersts from the town to the hills, and along the sea coast. We perceived that it would not be difficult to break loose from our guards, by using their own arms.* The question, however, was, whither should we then fly. We resolved to wait for an opportunity when there should be a vessel on the coast, to which we might push off; and for that reason we always

* The Japanese constantly wear a sabre and a dagger at the girdle; but when they sit down in a house they usually lay their sabre on the floor beside them. The dagger, however, is seldom removed from the girdle, and when it is, if they have to leave, but for a moment, the apartment in which they may be, they never fail to replace it. In a word, the dagger is their inseparable companion.

requested the Japanese to take us along the shore. We did not forget, at the same time, to carry our supply of provisions with us. Mr. Moor, however, who could not fail to conjecture our design, told the Japanese that he felt pain in his feet, and begged they would not go so far from the town.

At the latter end of March, the interpreter and our guards again informed us that we should soon be released from our confinement, and that we were only kept in prison until the completion of the necessary repairs in the house which was designed for us. Soon afterwards Kumaddschero requested that Mr. Moor would describe to him, by a drawing, in what part of their houses the Russians place images of their saints, in order that some might be put into our new residence. We laughed at this, and assured him that the Japanese might fix up the images wherever they pleased; but Kumaddschero repeated his solicitation, and Mr. Moor at length gave him a drawing.*

On the morning of the 1st of April, the Japanese began to remove our things to the house, and at noon we were conducted before the bunyo at the castle. In the presence of all the chief officers of the city, he informed us that we were now to be

* We soon learned that Kumaddschero had really made a very serious matter of it, for every thing was arranged precisely according to Mr. Moor's drawing.

released from our imprisonment, and lodged in a fine house, which had previously been the residence of a Japanese officer, that we should live in a much better style than before, and that we ought therefore to regard the Japanese as our countrymen and brothers. With these words he withdrew.

CHAPTER VI.

From the castle we were conducted to the house which had been prepared for us. It was situated opposite to the southern gate of the fortress, between the rampart and a sloping rock, at the foot of which the middle quarter of the city was built. It had a pretty extensive yard, and was surrounded by a wooden wall, or fence, with chevaux-de-frise. The yard was divided by a wooden fence into two separate parts, one of which was appropriated to us. In this place, three or four trees and a few shrubs were planted; and the Japanese, in drawing our attention to all the elegancies of our new dwelling, called it a garden. There was a puddle of dirty water in the further corner of the yard, which they styled a lake, and a hillock of mud in the centre was intended to represent an island.* From

* The Japanese are extremely fond of gardens, and love to imitate the works of nature. During our walks through the city, we frequently passed by houses with little pieces of cultivated ground. They all contained a pool of water, surrounded with trees and bushes. In the centre of the water two or three heaps of earth were usually collected to represent islands, with stones fixed upon them, by way of being rocks and mountains; some of these islands were even planted with shrubberies. In

this yard, or garden, a small door, which was, however, always closed, communicated with the adjoining yard. It was only opened when the commander of the Sangar soldiers, or one of the officers came to inspect our yard, or when we were led out to walk. At sun-set our guards began to walk their rounds at every half hour. The gate leading to the road next the rampart was in the other part of the yard, and was only closed during the night. Our house was divided by wooden palisades into two separate parts, each of which communicated with the corresponding half of the yard. One half of the house contained three apartments, which were assigned to our use, and separated from each other by screens; and the other part behind the palisades was occupied by a party of soldiers, and an officer of the Prince of

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the water we sometimes observed little boats and vessels sailing about, which were, however, very badly made. Such were the ornaments usually attached to the houses of the poorer classes, whose bits of enclosed ground, or yards, were only a few paces in diameter; the richer class, however, have, in general, fine gardens. The climate of the Island of Matsmai, notwithstanding its advantageous geographical situation, is, on account of other local circumstances, unfavourable for gardening; but, from the accounts of the Japanese themselves, there are many fine gardens on the Island of Niphon, belonging to the princes and other individuals of distinction, whose chief pride consists in admitting the common people to walk in them, and to wonder at the beauty of their cultivation.

Sangar, by whom we were guarded. They could observe all our motions with the greatest ease; and there was besides a door, which communicated from their part of the house to our's, but which was always closed. These soldiers, in addition to their sabres and daggers, were armed with guns and pikes. The officer was constantly seated near the palisades, looking into our apartment. Besides this guard-room, there was another little chamber, in which two imperial soldiers were stationed, who were occasionally relieved, and who could likewise see all that passed in our apartments. The door which led from their chamber to our lodgings was closed only at night. These soldiers were frequently with us in the course of the day; and, indeed, sometimes visited us during the night, when we were first removed to our new abode. Behind these guard-rooms, and in the same part of the house, were chambers for the servants, kitchens, and store-rooms. That part of the house which we occupied was surrounded by a balcony, or gallery, from which we could see over the fence, and could descry towards the south the straits of Sangar, the opposite coast of Japan, and the masts of several vessels lying close in shore.* Through the open-

* The city of Matsmai is built on a large open bay, without having any regular harbour. The Japanese vessels lie close to the shore, behind heaps of stones, which serve to protect them

ings in the fence we could discover the vessels themselves, together with a part of the city. On the northern side we had a view of the castle and hills of Matsmai.

Our residence was in various respects changed for the better. We could at least enjoy the sight of the sky, the stars, and many other objects; and could, when we chose, walk out into the yard and enjoy the fresh air. We had before been debarred from all these comforts. Our food was likewise considerably better. But, notwithstanding this, we were inconsolable whenever we recollected the last words of the bunyo. He desired us to regard the Japanese as our brothers and countrymen, and mentioned not a word about Russia, as he had before been accustomed to do. He had formerly used every effort to console us, by appearing to take an interest in our behalf, and promising to exert all his influence to facilitate our return to our native country; but he now told us to look upon the Japanese as our countrymen. We could construe this in no other way than that we must make up our minds to remain in Japan, and banish every thought of Russia. But we had firmly resolved that such should not be our fate; and had even bound our-

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from the waves. In some places the depth at low water is, as the Japanese assert, four fathoms, which is amply sufficient for large European merchantmen.

selves by an oath, that, whatever might be the consequence, we would attempt either to liberate ourselves by force from the power of the Japanese, or to escape secretly during the night. We had all, with the exception of Mr. Moor, formed a determination to perish rather than remain for ever in Japan.

When the Japanese officers and the interpreter came, according to custom, to congratulate us on our removal to our new abode, they immediately observed that the house had not made the impression upon us which they expected, and that we were as dull and melancholy as ever. We perceive, said they, that your change of residence has not contributed to cheer your spirits, and that all your thoughts are bent on returning to Russia. Though the Japanese government has not yet come to any decision on your case, yet the bunyo, when he visits the capital* in the summer season, will use all his

* There are two obunyos, or viceroys, in every district in Japan which does not belong to a governing prince, but is immediately dependant on the emperor: the one resides in his province, the other in the capital, and they annually relieve each other. The acting bunyo makes a report of every thing to his coadjutor, who lays a statement before the government, and uses his endeavours to bring the affairs to a speedy and wished-for issue. The Japanese regard this mode of alternate government as extremely convenient. It is, besides, in other respects, really necessary, as neither the wife nor children of the bunyo are

influence with the government to obtain your freedom, and to send you home. Teske, who had repeatedly assured us of the interest which the bunyo took in our case, on this occasion mentioned to us a circumstance which determined us on attempting our escape before the commencement of the summer. It appeared that the bunyo had, a short time before, received a letter from the capital, which he opened in the presence of Teske. On reading it he let it fall from his hand, and his countenance evinced the deepest agitation and distress. When Teske inquired the cause of his emotion, he replied, that the government had paid no regard to his representation; and, instead of granting him permission to maintain a friendly understanding with the Russian vessels which might in future approach the Japanese coasts, he had been directed to burn them, and make their crews prisoners. The Prince of Nambu had, accordingly, been ordered to provide a considerable detachment of troops, under the command of a distinguished general, with artillery and ammunition, and to strengthen the fortifications, and reinforce the garrisons of Kunashier and other

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allowed to accompany him to his province. They are detained in the capital as hostages for the faithful discharge of his duty. This rule is likewise observed with regard to the governing princes. Their wives and children always reside in the capital; but the princes spend alternately one year with their families, and another in their principalities.

sea-ports. Then, we exclaimed, war is unavoidable; and the Japanese, and not the Russians, are the guilty promoters of bloodshed. War will doubtless ensue, replied Teske, but it will not last for ever: whenever peace is concluded, you will be set at liberty. Set at liberty! thought we; yes, when our bones have rotted in Japan. We were well aware that the harbour of Okotzk did not contain so considerable a force as would compel the Japanese to come to a reconciliation; for this purpose, it would have been necessary to send an expedition from the Baltic; and the practicability of that event depended on the peace with England. All these things required time, and time might banish all recollection of our case.

These considerations urged us to attempt the speedy execution of our project, and, if possible, to effect our escape before the arrival of any Russian vessels, as we reflected that, when they came within sight of the Japanese coasts, our guards would probably be doubled, or we might again be shut up in our cages.

Teske used every endeavour to console us. He assured us that if the new bunyo should be as kindly disposed towards us as ARRAO-MADSIMANO-KAMI* had been, he might, in consequence of the

* ARRAO-MADSIMANO was the name of the first bunyo. *Kami* denotes a dignity which persons of rank obtain from the eccle-

personal intercessions which his colleague would make in our behalf, easily give another turn to our affair. The new bunyo was expected in two months. But the Russian ships might appear in the interim; and, as they had no reason to expect a friendly reception from the Japanese, they might probably themselves be the first to adopt measures of hostility. We, moreover, learned from Teske, that the new governor would bring along with him the secret paper which Chwostoff had sent to the Japanese, and which had not yet been shewn to us. In the meanwhile the Japanese were constantly questioning us on various subjects. This was chiefly by the advice of Mamia-Rinso. We learned from Teske that this man had become our irreconcilable enemy; that he had declared to the governor that our arrival at Japan was not accidental, but that we had been sent thither for the express purpose of acting as spies. We were not informed of all the arguments which he adduced in support of his assertion; but those which Teske mentioned to us were highly ludicrous. For instance, it appeared to him a very suspicious circumstance that we should have along with us a letter of credit for five

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siastical emperor, and is always added by way of distinction to the person's name. There is no dignity in Europe, or perhaps in the world, which corresponds with *Kami:* it signifies something spiritual.

thousand piasters, which were to be paid by an English merchant at Canton: he was fully persuaded that some improper motives must have induced us to make provision for so much foreign gold, which might be brought to Japan. He, therefore, inquired the name of the merchant, whether he had ever been in Russia, whether he spoke the Russian language, &c. Teske, however, assured us, that though Mamia-Rinso had not succeeded in altering the good opinion which the bunyo entertained of our conduct, yet his representations had had a considerable effect in the capital, where not only the government, but the greater part of the people were prejudiced against us.

In the meanwhile the interpreters neglected no opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the Russian language, and they took notes of every thing they learned. They frequently mentioned the men of learning* who were to come in the suite of the new governor, for the purpose of conversing with us on philosophical subjects, and making them-

* In the capital of the Japanese empire there is an institution resembling our universities or academies. The members of this institution devote themselves to the study of philosophy and the instruction of young persons, some of whom reside in the institution, and others merely attend at the hours of instruction, for the receiving of which, however, the consent of the government is necessary. I shall hereafter mention the extent of knowledge to which learned men attain in Japan.

selves acquainted with the contents of our books. In short, every ray of hope that the Japanese would of their own accord grant us our liberty had now vanished. They had, it is true, ameliorated our condition; but this we attributed merely to their wish of reconciling us to our fate, in order that our lives might be preserved, and they reap the benefit of our instruction.

On this subject we all entertained but one opinion, and our thoughts were wholly occupied with the means of carrying into effect our hazardous enterprize, to which our own companion, Mr. Moor, proved the greatest obstacle. This unfortunate circumstance rendered our situation doubly wretched. He was, as it were, transformed into another being. He no longer regarded himself as a Russian, and assured the Japanese that all his relations resided in Germany, &c.* His conversations with the interpreters proved to us what we might expect from him. Alexei secretly informed us, that Mr. Moor had acquainted him with his design of entering the Japanese service as European interpreter, and had advised him to do the same, for which he promised him his protection when he should become a dis-

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* Mr. Moor's father was a German, in the Russian service. His mother, however, was a native of Russia, and he himself had been baptized in the Russian faith. He had received his education in the Naval Cadet College.

tinguished man. It was evident that he was to us a very dangerous person, and this was an additional reason for inducing us to hasten the execution of our project.

Had we been all of one mind, an attempt to escape might easily have been carried into execution. Though the Sangar soldiers scarcely ever fell asleep during the night, yet they concerned themselves but little about us, and usually sat by the fire smoking tobacco. Their whole duty consisted in going every half hour round the yard, and striking the hour. The officer, it is true, always sat near the palisades, yet he seldom looked into our apartment, and was almost constantly occupied in reading.* As for the imperial soldiers, they strictly fulfilled their duty at first, but they afterwards slept during the whole of the night, or amused themselves

* The Japanese are extremely fond of reading; even the common soldiers when on duty are continually engaged with books. This passion for literature, however, proved somewhat inconvenient to us, as they always read aloud, in a tone of voice resembling singing; much in the same style in which the Psalms are read at funerals in Russia. Before we became accustomed to this, we were unable to enjoy a moments rest during the night. The history of their native country, the contests which have arisen among themselves, and the wars in which they have been engaged with neighbouring nations, form the subjects of their favourite books, which are all printed in Japan. They do not use metal types, but print with plates cut out of pieces of hard wood.

with reading or playing at cards or draughts.* We might easily, at midnight, have crept one after another into the yard, previously taking the precaution to place some of our clothes on the beds, and covering them up beneath the quilts, from which it would appear that we were still lying soundly asleep. There was an aperture under the fence, through which the water ran off from the yard: this opening might easily have been increased

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* Playing at cards and draughts are very common amusements among the Japanese. They are fond of playing for money, and will stake their last piece upon a game. They were taught to play at cards by the Dutch sailors, who were allowed free intercourse with the inhabitants, and in Nangasaky were permitted to visit taverns and women of a certain character; who, in Japan, carry on their trade of prostitution under the protection of the laws. The cards were at first known to the Japanese by their European names, and there were fifty-two in a pack. Owing, however, to the pecuniary losses and fatal disputes to which card-playing gave rise, that amusement was strictly prohibited in Japan. In order to evade the law, the Japanese invented a pack of forty-eight cards, which are much smaller than our's, and which are generally used. Their game at draughts is extremely complicated and difficult. They make use of a very large draught board and four hundred men, which they move about in many different directions, and which are liable to be taken in various ways. Our sailors played at draughts according to the usual European way; the Japanese immediately imitated them, and the game was soon generally known throughout the whole city, and the Russian terms were adopted in playing it.

so as to admit of our creeping through it. We must then have stolen softly through the town, until we reached the shore, from whence, in a small boat, we might row to one of the vessels which we had observed during our walks, and on gaining possession of it put to sea. But to insure the success of such an enterprise, it was necessary that a brisk wind should be blowing from the land; and Mr. Moor, who suspected our design, watched us closely at every motion; we therefore thought it impossible to make an attempt of this nature without his participation, as he would have immediately discovered our flight, and raised an alarm among the guards. None of the inhabitants of the city being permitted to go out at night without lanterns, to elude the observation of the patroles, it would be requisite to creep cautiously along the streets, which would at least have required several hours, and before that time our escape would probably have been prevented: we therefore abandoned all thoughts of carrying this design into effect. We had, however, formed two other plans. Instead of proceeding to the shore, we might ascend a mound covered with trees, which formed a kind of glacis, behind the ditch on the western side of the fortress; for, during our walks, we had observed that no guards were stationed either on the rampart or the glacis, but that, within the gate of the garrison, two soldiers only were seated in a large guard-room, who were

usually amusing themselves by smoking tobacco. From the glacis we might gain a long alley of high trees, and from thence enter the city burying-ground,* which was situated in an extensive plain, that stretched along the side of a deep valley. After passing through the cemetery we should be in the open fields, about the distance of two wersts from the hills. It would then require three days to be spent in crossing the hills in a northerly direction, in order to reach the coast, there to await the opportunity of making ourselves masters of a vessel. Our other plan was to break from our guards by force, in case, during our walks, we should meet with a ship near the shore.

We gave the preference to the latter scheme, as we reflected, that whilst we were crossing the hills, the Japanese might gain time to issue orders for keeping a strict watch over their ships. But this project was likewise extremely uncertain, since it required the combination of two circumstances; namely, a brisk favourable wind, and the meeting with a vessel suited to our purpose. Though we had no time for delay, yet we resolved to wait for

* We should have met with no obstruction in passing through the cemetery, as the Japanese have a great horror at approaching such places during the night. Even allowing that we had accidentally been perceived from a distance, the sight of human figures wandering about among the tombs would certainly have deprived the Japanese of their senses.

a day or two, in the hope that an opportunity might arise to enable us to carry the latter plan into execution.

In the meanwhile we made every possible preparation for our departure. In one of our walks in the outskirts of the city we found a piece of steel, which one of the sailors picked up, under pretence of drawing up his boot, and slipped it into his pocket; we likewise found means to provide ourselves with some flints, unperceived by our attendants. The fragments of an old shirt, which we threw upon the fire as if by accident, served us for tinder: we besides daily increased our store of provisions, by secreting a portion of our allowance. These were merely economical arrangements; but we did not, on the other hand, neglect to make warlike preparations. We found amongst the grass in our yard a large sharp chisel, which had probably been left behind by the carpenters who repaired our house: we immediately hid it, and resolved, on the first favourable opportunity, to fasten it to a long pole, in order that it might serve as a pike. To a similar purpose we destined a spade, which had been left by accident in our yard, and which we carefully concealed. But this was not all: the proverb, that necessity is the mother of invention, was fully realized; for Mr. Chlebnikoff even managed to make a compass. We requested our attendants to let us have two large needles for mend-

ing our clothes, and afterwards pretended that we had lost them. The Japanese sometimes fasten together the beams of their houses with copper; this had been done in our house, although the copper was very rusty. Mr. Chlebnikoff cleaned a piece of this copper, in the middle of which he bored a hole, so that a needle might be placed upon it: by frequently rubbing this needle on a stone which he selected for the purpose, he succeeded in magnetising it, and finally gave it such a degree of polarity, that it pointed with tolerable accuracy towards the north. The case was composed of a few sheets of paper pasted together with rice. This compass cost Mr. Chlebnikoff much labour, and he was, besides, obliged to proceed with the greatest caution. Had the Japanese observed him rubbing the needle against the flint, they would never have guessed his real design, but would probably supposed that he was sharpening the point; but it would have been impossible to deceive Mr. Moor. It was therefore so arranged, that whilst Mr. Chlebnikoff was at work in a corner of the yard, one of our party always walked up and down, and gave him a signal when any suspicious person approached.

The Japanese now took us out to walk more frequently than before, and the interpreters, or some of the inhabitants of the city, often invited us to call on them, and gave us refreshments. According to the Japanese laws, however, a native cannot

receive strangers into the body of his house, and we always entered under the pretence of being so fatigued by our walk, that it was necessary we should rest awhile. We generally found every thing prepared for our reception, and we took our seats in the galleries, which were previously spread with clean mats. According to the Japanese custom, they presented to us tea, tobacco for smoking, sagi, sweet cakes, fruits, &c.

One day, as we were walking along the beach, we came up with two fishing boats. As it were, in fulfilment of our wishes, a sloop chanced to be lying at a short distance from the shore. I deliberated with Mr. Chlebnikoff, but the execution of our enterprise seemed so doubtful, that we deemed it imprudent to make the attempt. Whilst we were contending with the soldiers, the fishermen might have rowed off from the shore; and even had we succeeded in getting on board their boats, it would have been extremely uncertain whether or not we could have gained possession of the vessel. Mr. Moor, who watched every motion we made, immediately understood what was passing in our minds. On our return home, Alexei secretly informed us that we were in the greatest danger, as Mr. Moor had ordered him to discover our design to the Japanese, and had threatened to do so himself in case of his refusal. Alexei asked us whether we were determined on attempting our

escape, and if so, entreated that we would not leave him behind us. I must here observe, that we had not made Alexei acquainted with our last plan, fearing lest he might be terrified at the thought of so desperate an undertaking, and consequently be induced to betray us. We, besides, observed, that he was engaged for several hours every day in private conversation with Mr. Moor, and this circumstance roused our suspicion. Mr. Moor was, probably, uncertain whether or not we had entirely relinquished our project, and thrown away our store of provisions. Had he made so important a communication to the Japanese without being able to prove what he asserted, he would have been overwhelmed with shame by such an act of treachery towards his unfortunate companions, who had neither the will nor the power to do him harm. If by any miracle we had all safely returned to Russia, what would have been his feelings, after such conduct! These reflections, doubtless passed within his mind, and convinced him that he must have incontestible proofs of our design, before he could venture to disclose his suspicions to the Japanese. It appeared, therefore, probable that he wished to make Alexei the instrument for obtaining those proofs. Mr. Chlebnikoff, indeed, was of opinion, that this Kurile was sincerely attached to us, and that we might safely trust him with the secret; but I did not think this altogether prudent.

The sailors were all averse to making him a participator in the business, and assured us that Mr. Moor, by his representations, had alienated him from us, and drawn him over to his side. In such a situation as our's it was necessary to consult the feelings of all; we, therefore, followed the advice of the sailors, and told Alexei that we had for that time abandoned all thought of escaping, but that we might, perhaps, think of it again on the return of summer, and asked him how he supposed we could best execute our purpose.

In order to remove suspicion from the mind of Mr. Moor, we told him we still wished to escape, but that we had resolved not to go without him, and would not make any attempt until after the arrival of the new bunyo. We added that we wished to know the contents of Chwostoff's paper, and to see how the new bunyo should be disposed towards us, and that he might by that time probably change his mind, and like us resolve to venture every thing. Mr. Moor replied, that his determination was totally independent of any information which the bunyo might bring, and that he had resolved to remain in Japan. We were, however, happy to find that our dissimulation had the desired effect: Mr. Moor seemed perfectly satisfied, and no longer kept a watchful eye upon us. The reader will no doubt pardon this conduct: when he consi-

ders what a web of wickedness, cunning, and calumny, had been woven around us, can we be condemned for dealing thus with our faithless companion, who would for his own selfish purposes have hindered us from escaping eternal imprisonment, and returning to our native country?

At length the 20th of April arrived. The time was near at hand when we might expect our ships to reach Japan, supposing that the *Diana* had sailed from Okotzk to winter in Kamtschatka. To all appearance it was vain to look forward to an opportunity of forcibly breaking from our guards, and getting on board a vessel. In the meanwhile some little imprudence, on the part of our sailors, had, probably, occasioned Mr. Moor to renew his suspicions, for he now began to watch us with as much circumspection as before. We again deliberated on what we should do. The coasts of Matsmai are thickly covered with villages of various sizes: we knew that vessels and boats were lying on every part of the shore. We reflected that these vessels might be strongly armed and guarded; but then Heaven assists the bold, and force must be opposed to force.—We determined to make our escape into the mountains.

On the 23d of April, we were conducted to the outskirts of the city to walk. Under pretence of mere curiosity, we requested the Japanese to lead

us to a pagoda, which stood near the cemetery,* and which had recently been built after a fire. We had thus an opportunity of observing the foot-paths which we might pursue in the course of our flight.

It may be here observed, that the island of Matsmai† is entirely covered with hills. The ground is no where level, except on the coast, and at short distances from the base of the mountains, which raise their summits in every direction, and are separated from each other by deep ravines. This extraordinary chain of mountains, which is high and low by turns, extends over the whole island, the midland parts of which are uninhabited. All the Kurile and Japanese villages lie along the coast.

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* When we went out to walk, the Japanese frequently took us into their temples, and places of devotion, where they shewed us every thing without the least reserve. In this respect they are far less bigotted than some European nations, who do not admit strangers into their sacred repositories. When they had shewn us every thing, they usually desired us to sit down at the door of the temple, and brought us tea, sagi, and tobacco. The interior of their temples bears an extraordinary resemblance to the Catholic churches. They are furnished with a number of images, large and small candlesticks with tapers, &c.

† The island is of a quadrangular form. Its utmost length, from south to north, is about two hundred and fifty-five Italian miles, and its breadth, from east to west, about two hundred and fifty.

As we passed through the fields we gathered wild leeks and garlick,* in such great quantities, that Mr. Moor, who thought we wanted it for present use, could have no idea that we were on the eve of making our escape.

On our return home, we felt extremely fatigued, and threw ourselves on our beds. During the twilight the sailors entered the kitchen, and carried off two knives, without being perceived. About half an hour before midnight, Simanoff and Schkajeff stole into the yard, and concealed themselves under the steps. When twelve o'clock struck, and the Sangar soldiers had gone their rounds, they began to make a hole under the fence, through which we all (Mr. Moor and Alexei excepted) crept one after another. I stumbled in going out, slipped down, and struck my knee against a stake which was sunk in the ground close to the opening. The blow was extremely violent, but the pain soon diminished.

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* The Japanese are very fond of wild leeks, boiled when young. They, however, do not eat wild garlick, although it would be very salutary for them, as scorbutic diseases are extremely prevalent in Japan, and in many cases prove fatal. Wild garlick, as experience proves, is a powerful anti-scorbutic. We ate both wild leeks and wild garlick, which we gathered ourselves during our walks, to save trouble to our attendants.

We found ourselves on a very narrow path between the fence and the hollow, so that it was with the utmost difficulty we succeeded in gaining the high road. With hasty steps we then passed between the trees, crossed the mound, and the cemetery; and, in about half an hour, reached the foot of the first hill which we had to ascend.

END OF VOL. I.

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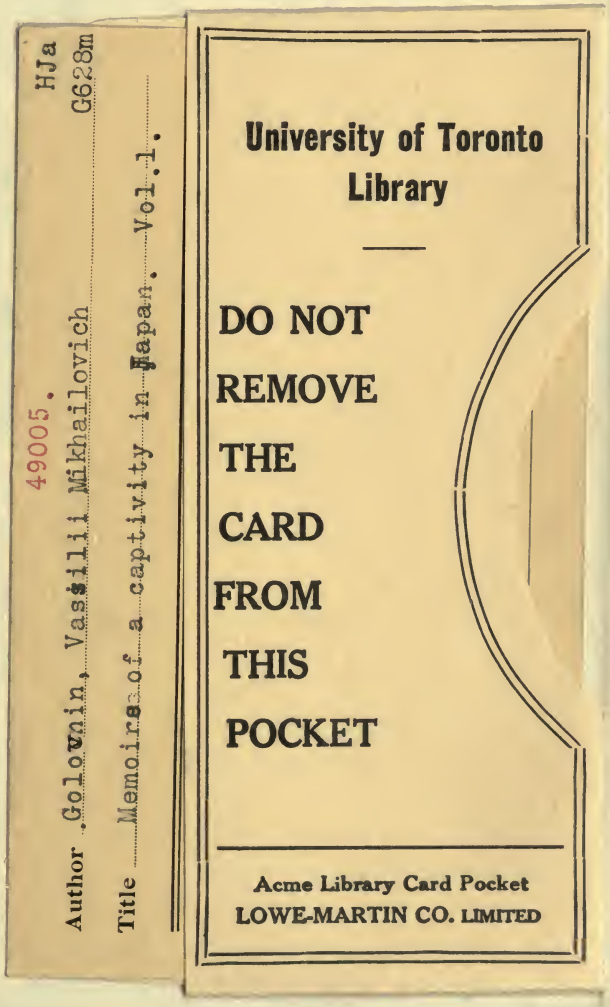
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